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OF

WALES AND ITS MARCHES,

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The Cambrian Archwological Association.



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PREFACE TO VOL. II.,

NEW SERIES.

In presenting another Volume to the public, we are glad to call the attention of Members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and of Antiquaries generally, to the important nature of its contents.

Some remarkable excavations and examinations of Early British works have drawn forth several articles from the pen of Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, and especially an elaborate Paper on the Site of the Last Battle of Caractacus. The controversy on this point may now be considered, if not completely settled, yet at least considerably illustrated,—as far, perhaps, as the long lapse of time will permit.

Mr. Westwood's remarks on the Early Inscribed Stones of Wales, illustrated by excellent designs, have been continued, and will, we hope, ultimately grow into a work of national importance.

Our readers will find much accurate information, and many valuable critical remarks on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Monmouthshire in Mr. Freeman's Paper on edifices in that county,—itself one of the richest fields opened to the researches of Members of our Association. We are indebted to this gentleman for the woodcut of the doorway of Chepstow Church, engraved at his expense.

Several learned memoirs, illustrative of the early literature and history of Wales enrich this Volume. The dissertations of Mr. Stephens on the Poems of Taliesin are conceived in a spirit of sound criticism, and must be read with interest by all whose attention is turned to such subjects.

The History of Owain Glyndwr, and of the military movements of Llewelyn Bren, have received much elucidation from Mr. T. O. Morgan, and the Rev. H. Hey Knight, respectively, and we hope that these gentlemen will follow up researches so well commenced.

Various Miscellaneous Papers complete the Volume, and, with the hints or facts thrown out by our correspondents, will repay the trouble of careful perusal.

The account of the Meeting at Tenby, one of the most successful hitherto held by the Association, will show that a love for the science of Archæology is penetrating, by degrees, into the mind of the nation; and the long list of valuable objects of Antiquity exhibited in the Local Museum on that occasion indicates what rich collections might be made, if permanent Museums could be established for their reception.

The barrows, which were opened while the Members were at Tenby, give promise of future discoveries of an interesting nature in Pembrokeshire. The illustrations of the Paper containing the account of those openings have been presented at the cost of the earliest and most generous promoter of this work—James Dearden, Esq., one of our Vice-Presidents.

Archeologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. V.-JANUARY, 1851.

CHEPSTOW PRIORY CHURCH.

Among the more attractive objects, both natural and artistic, with which its neighbourhood abounds, the poor fragments of the once Conventual Church of Chepstow have probably received less attention than they merit. Its stately compeer of Tintern-an expression less ludicrous three centuries back than it sounds at present speaks for itself, and impresses the most casual observer; but it is only the practised eye of the architectural student that can discern any claim to lasting attention in the patched and mutilated pile I am about to describe. Yet it is one deserving our notice on at least two grounds; as revealing no small amount of splendour, and yet more of singularity, in its original plan, and also as demonstrating the unpleasing proposition that, while the lowest depth of art and taste has been often assigned—by myself certainly till a few days past—to the Llandaff of a century back, a still lower depth may be discovered in the Chepstow of our own day. Ten years have not elapsed since the most irreparable barbarisms that ancient structure ever underwent were inflicted on a church which might have excited the reverence of all by its massive proportions and venerable antiquity, and the singularity of whose architecture might claim no mean place among the monastic remains of Wales and its Marches.

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

Entering the town of Chepstow from the Gloucestershire side, the eye that can turn away from the surpassing grandeur of that feudal ruin which in other days might have forbidden a peaceful approach, may be struck by a massive tower of no great pretensions, though not devoid of picturesque effect. An attentive consideration readily refers this to the revived Gothic of the seventeenth century; attached to it is a huge pile which at first sight seems wholly referable to a nondescript style of the nineteenth; the "Anglo-Romanesque," as Mr. Cliffe calls it, of 1841. Transepts, by courtesy so called, of illimitable breadth; round-headed windows of no less illimitable height; all the conventional monstrosities of thirty, rather than ten years back, seem to be the "dominant facts" of Chepstow; a second glance reveals the existence of portions which must have proceeded from very different hands, and a little attention ascertains the truth that among these accumulations of successive periods of barbarism, there lies concealed the nearly perfect nave of no contemptible Norman minster. Choir, transepts, lantern, aisles, have disappeared one after another, but the massive arcades and triforium are still there; and, among additions and destructions of nearly equal enormity, we may still discern the remains of a west front which can have been surpassed by few of its own size and style.

The tale of destruction is briefly told. It must be remembered that the ancient portion of the present building consists of the nave of the old conventual church. We are told that the tower stood at the east end, from which I infer that it was a cruciform church, of which, as in so many other instances, the choir was destroyed at the dissolution, while the nave was allowed to remain as the parish church; the central tower would thus of course stand at the east end of the latter. This tower fell some time in the seventeenth century, and appears to have crushed the transepts, or whatever portions of them remained. It was not rebuilt in its old position, but over the western bay of the church; a belfry arch being

thrown across the nave, and the west front carried up as the west wall of the new tower.

This work of two ages back I am not called upon to criticise; the addition of the tower of course ruins the west front-no slight loss-but it was probably thought more natural for a tower to stand at the west end of a church than the east. A detached campanile would have cut the knot. But what are we to say to the works of 1841? solemnly proclaimed as they are with the attestation of vicar, curate, churchwardens, and architects, "whose names knowing I will not speak," as I believe that some at least have lived to repent. But the fact must be told; nine years back—the Cambrian Archæological Association certainly did not exist in those days, but similar bodies did-it struck the people of Chepstow that the gigantic Norman piers of their nave prevented those of their number who were located in the aisles "from seeing or hearing the minister;" nothing certainly unlikely in this; the original architect probably never thought of any minister being seen or heard in any such position, and accordingly he did not think of making his masses of masonry permeable by either sight or sound. I confess it, a square pier in front of you does not improve your view of the preacher, and those who wish for that advantage had better not ensconce themselves behind one. So rightly thought the ecclesiological mind of Chepstow; whether its remedy for the evil was equally sound may admit of a doubt. First of all, as the aisles were no longer to be inhabited, a place was to be found for their former occupants; some might have suggested a second church as their best receptacle; Chepstow seems to have disliked absolute novelty, and to have preferred an old friend in a new dress. Eastward of the existing church —involving however I believe the sacrifice of its eastern bay—was reared a portentous pile of that kind of architecture which borrows the use of the round arch from that of the twelfth century, and in other respects draws on its own resources. Its ground-plan is less easily described; it is very big, very well adapted "for seeing and hearing the minister;" yet some traces of old superstitions were allowed to remain; a diligent examination will detect certain approximations to a choir and transepts, and, taking in the old nave, a remote resemblance to the form of a cross. Now room was wanted somewhere; if the good people of Chepstow preferred adding to the old church to building a new one—the scheme certainly had the merit of saving a new endowment—and really knew no better way of adding than this; why, all we can do is to give them the benefit of the old plea of "invincible ignorance." But what followed seems to show signs of a revengeful spirit decidedly to be condemned by the moral and theological systems of all persuasions. The aisles—the old offenders—were still there; the big pillars which had so long impeded sight and hearing still existed; no longer indeed impeding it, they were now helpless and harmless; they might have pleaded to drag on their dishonoured being, empty and unregarded, till they shared the common decay of all things human; but they had impeded sight and hearing in past times, they might even perhaps, in the cycle of events, impede it again; in any case, nobody wanted them, they cumbered the ground; they were better quite out of the way; βούλομαι μή είναι was the prevailing sentiment; sentence of death was pronounced against the aisle walls, sentence of perpetual imprisonment in fetters against the sight-impeding pillars. A blank wall might have served the purpose, but the vengeance of Chepstow was more refined; built up to the crown of the arch, with a window, conducing to sight, and not impeding hearing, placed in each, still the pillar was allowed to exist, and to proclaim its existence; arch and impost were still allowed to be distinctly visible as a trophy of the past, a warning for the future,—a perpetual triumph, exhibiting alike the offence and the punishment to generations yet unborn.

So much for destruction and renovation as understood at Chepstow in 1841; I must add a brief description of what has survived to 1850. The nave, in its fullest extent, consisted of six bays, but of these one was occupied by the tower, and one was sacrificed to the last instalment of destruction: I may add that, of the four which constitute the present nave, another makes a lobby below and a gallery above, an arrangement whose only merit is that of affording an opportunity of more closely inspecting the very singular triforium. The three that remain seem designed to form a more dignified approach to the spacious auditorium beyond. The whole of the original work is Romanesque, the arcades however being so extremely plain and massive, while the west front is of such extreme gorgeousness, that I am tempted to suppose the latter to have been completed at a slightly later period. The internal elevation exhibits the usual threefold division of height, but made in a manner the most purely horizontal. I have ever seen; there being strongly marked strings, but no roof-shafts or other internal vertical lines, and hardly anything which can be called a division into bays.

The piers are enormous square masses, something of the type of those at St. Alban's, but far lower and wider in proportion, and not, like them, broken by the attached pilasters; the arch is of two orders, and the jamb follows the same section, except in the western respond, where a shaft, with a very rude cushion capital, is attached to the inner order. There is nothing beyond a plain impost, continued as a string along the piers. The round arch is employed exclusively throughout the original portion

of the church.

A heavy string runs immediately above the arcade, below the triforium. This last feature is very remarkable; it does not form in any sense a range or architectural division of the building, but is merely an aperture pierced in the wall over each pier-arch. The arrangement is somewhat similar in the nave of St. Cross, near Winchester; in the neighbouring Abbey of Tintern it will be remembered that the triforium is not pierced at all, a blank space being left between the arcade and the clerestory, as in some examples of German Romanesque. The

triforium at Chepstow differs on the two sides of the church; on the north we have a single aperture, like a narrow window, of a single order; on the south the more common arrangement of two arches, but without any internal containing arch; they are divided by clustered shafts of singularly rude character. On both sides the impost is continued as a horizontal string, singularly flat, like a Saxon strip; there is no string between the triforium The destruction of the aisles renders and clerestory. more conspicuous the arrangements properly hidden by their roofs; on the north side the aperture is rather wider than within the nave, having two orders; on the south there is a wide arch, embracing the whole couplet. Pilasters here, running up into the clerestory, divide the bays.

The clerestory itself has been tampered with on both sides; as far as I can make out, those on the south are original, with the exception of new joints without, which are sufficiently hideous. They are single lights, rather wide, with a considerable internal splay, but no passage. Those on the north side are now similar, but I was informed by the intelligent person who acts as guide to the church, that they were originally narrower, like the apertures in the triforium below. The present roof is of course a flat plaster ceiling; the old one, which however seems not to have been contemporary, having been destroyed in 1841.

We have finally to consider the west front. Of this the western doorway, the triplet above it, and the pilasters on each side remain; they are of the very best Norman work, and, with a gable stage, and aisle-ends to match, would produce a façade of extreme beauty. But the present outline of the front, carried up into a tower, and shorn of its aisles, verges on the grotesque. The west doorway is one of the finest I know; it is of unusual size, of six orders, richly adorned with the chevron and other decorations, some of them of an unusual form. I am afraid that the inner order and the shafts were tampered with in 1841. A small blank arch on

each side the doorway fills up the front as far as the

pilasters.

The west window is a beautiful Norman triplet, the central light being the largest and most enriched; it is of three orders, the two outer resting on shafts; they are adorned with the chevron, and with one of the forms intermediate between that ornament and the toothmoulding; the label, with the billet, is continued over the side-lights, and forms their only decoration, the jambs being quite plain and square. This triplet within is splayed away to nothing; two shafts, larger than is usual in such positions, supporting the rear-arches of elliptical form. The work here is plain, but much better finished than the arcades.

When the tower was added, a belfry-arch was necessarily thrown across the nave, and two small arches, in imitation of the original work, were inserted below the western pair of pier-arches. By the destruction of the aisles, these are now left open, forming a sort of open porch, as at Brading, Isle of Wight, and Newnham, Northamptonshire; a modern Norman doorway being placed in the—of course blocked—belfry-arch. It is odd that this tower, which, on the other sides, exhibits some attempt at ecclesiastical character, should be on its west face, decidedly cinque-cento, with pediments over its windows, and would-be Ionic pilasters. These of course produce a strange contrast with the splendid Romanesque work below.

I think I have said enough to show that this church, notwithstanding its unparalleled transformation, still retains much worthy attention. I should commend its history to the diligent examination of Monmouthshire antiquaries, as a curious question may be raised connected with it. The Chepstow guide-books tell us that "the Priory was founded in the reign of Stephen, by one of the Clares. It was an alien priory of Benedictine Monks, its patroness St. Mary; it contained three monks, and was valued at £32." How came so unimportant a foundation to be possessed of a church on such

a scale, which, though far inferior in height, must have covered nearly, if not quite, as much ground as Tintern, and which possesses in all its fulness that conventual character so commonly absent from monastic churches in Wales?

To visitors to Chepstow who go out of the beaten track, I should also recommend a visit to Matherne. They will there be rewarded by a church of considerable merit—the reputed burying-place of King Tewdric—containing both Early English and Perpendicular work of some value. Matherne is the Lamphey of Llandaff, though very inferior; there are some remains of the Palace, neither extensive nor of much architectural merit, but by no means wanting in picturesque effect. In this however they are perhaps exceeded by the neighbouring mansion of Moinscourt, erected in 1609 by the celebrated Bishop Godwin. It is a perfect specimen of a moderate sized Elizabethan house, with a singular gate-house of its own date, and almost as large as itself.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

St. Arvan's, Chepstow, July 23, 1850.

[We are not surprised at Mr. Freeman's remarks upon the old church of Chepstow; for we find in so many places such ignorance and bad taste in architecture still existing—among professional as well as unprofessional persons—that to us it is always a subject of wonder and congratulation when we hear of any repairs or restorations being judiciously accomplished. As was observed by a contributor in a late Number, the architectural antiquities of Wales are in great danger of mutilation and destruction. Since that very Number was published, several glaring instances of both—of blind mutilation as well as of needless destruction—have come under our personal notice. The apathy that exists upon these points—the gross ignorance, the wretched taste—is incredible; and it is found in all classes of society, from the highest to the lowest.—Edd. Arch. Camb.]

TUMULUS, GORSEDD WEN,

AND THE REASONS FOR SUPPOSING IT TO BE THE TOMB OF GWEN, ONE OF LLYWARCH HEN'S SONS.

The form of this tumulus was bell-shaped, or more strictly, according to Sir R. C. Hoare's classification, it belonged to the broad barrows. It measured about twenty-six yards in diameter, and six feet in height.

It was situated on the apex of an eminence, in a field forming part of a farm in the county of Denbigh, called Yr Orsedd Wen, belonging to F. R. West, Esq., about two miles west of the village of Selattyn. Offa's Dyke, traversing the field in a direction from north-east to south-west, and here defining the limits of England and Wales, lies about 150 yards to the south-east of it. Unusual interest attached to it, from there being ground for supposing it to be the burial-place of Gwen, one of the sons of Llywarch Hen, who was prince of the Cumbrian Britons during the sixth century. Having lost his patrimony and several of his sons (who were twentyfour in number) in wars against the Saxons, he became a refugee at the court of Cynddylan, a prince of part of Powys, whose residence was at Pengwern, or Shrewsbury. Gwên appears to have been the most valiant of his sons, for his royal father, who is to us better known as a bard than a sovereign, in one of his poems, in a passage of which the following is a literal translation, thus speaks of him :-

- "Four-and-twenty sons I have had Wearing the golden chain, leaders of armies; Gwên was the best of them.
- "Four-and-twenty sons there were to me Wearing the golden chain, leaders of battle; Gwên was the best son of his father.
- "Four-and-twenty sons to me have been Wearing the golden chain, and leading princes; Compared with Gwên, they were but striplings."

He fell in the wars which at that period were per-ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II. petually waging between the Saxons and the Prince of Powys; and his fall, which seems from the language of Llywarch's poem to have caused the deepest affliction to his father, we are told took place at the ford of Morlas:—

"On the ford of Morlas was slain Gwên."

And in the same poem, speaking of his son's grave, he says:—

"The shrine of the fierce overbearing foe,
That vanquished the circularly compact army of Lloegyr;
The grave of Gwên, the son of Llywarch Hen, is this.

"Sweetly sang the birds on the fragrant blossomed apple tree, Over the head of Gwên, before he was covered over with sod."

And in another poem, called "the Stanzas of the Graves," we read:—

"The graves washed by the rainy shower, Belong to warriors that were not treacherously slain, Namely, Gwên, and Urien, and Uriad."

So far of Gwên.

The next passage we find in Llywarch's poems which bears upon the subject, is from an elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn:—

"Have not my eyes gazed on a pleasant land From the Gorsedd Gorwynion?"

In the last two words Mr. Williams, the author of the "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen," himself an eminent Welsh scholar, assures me we may, according to the rules of Welsh etymology, identify the name "Yr Orsedd Wen."

The scene pictured to his eyes we cannot now behold; but, could the royal poet have cast his eye to the south-east and south of our tumulus, and have scanned the fertile plains of Shropshire, clothed, as we saw them, with the varied tints of the springing blade, extending from the brink of our foreground onward to the Wrekin's base, studded with woods and clumps—the trim tall poplar, the haughty oak, and bristling elm—whose brown hue already gave promise of winter's speedy

flight; could he have gazed to his right on the tapering spires of Shrewsbury; and beyond, as far as eye can reach to the left, upon the woodlands of Grinshill and Hawkestone, the rich pastures of Cheshire, with Beeston frowning in the distance; to the north upon the heights of Yale,—he could not have said otherwise than that his

eyes beheld a pleasant land.

This spot, then, was probably a favourite resort of Llywarch Hen; while the term "gorsedd" clothes it with still greater importance, and points it out as a "place of assembly." Whether this term is ever applied to any but an assembly of bards, I do not feel competent to decide with certainty. My impression is that it is not. A full description of the bardic gorsedd is given in the Archæologia Cambrensis, No. I., New Series. Its purposes are stated to be four, of which the first is said to be "divine worship," and if it is not too fanciful, may we not discern some coincidence between this purpose of the gorsedd and Llywarch's description of Gwên's grave, be it metaphorical or local:—

"The shrine of the fierce overbearing foe,1
The grave of Gwên, the son of Llywarch Hen, is this."

For whether it be metaphorical, and only expressive of the great renown his son had acquired—so great, as to render his tomb a fit shrine for his countrymen—or local, and actually referring to the spot where his son's grave was, it may not be unworthy of notice, that we find a tumulus on a spot which, its name attests, was once used inter alia for "divine worship;" and this coincidence is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that the river Morlas, still so named, the scene of Gwên's fall, rises within 150 yards to the north-west of our tumulus. It is now a trickling stream, and, flowing past the tumulus, eastward, down a deep ravine called Craignant, joins the Ceiriog, near Chirk. A gentleman's seat on its banks, about three miles to the east, called Prysgwên, is said to receive its name from Gwên, and to signify

¹ I. e., of the Welsh.

"Gwên's resort," or "covert." There is, also, within a mile of the tumulus, to the north-west, a farm, called, on the Ordnance map, Ty'n y rhyd, or "the house on the ford." Beside this tumulus there was only one other sepulchral mound on its banks, which was a carn, composed entirely of stone, situated on an eminence of Selattyn mountain, about half-a-mile or rather more to the south-east of our tumulus, but at much greater distance than it from the Morlas, though sufficiently near to compete for the honour of being the tomb of Gwên.

In the *carn* twelve urns, each containing burnt bones, were discovered, while remains of a wholly different

character were found in the tumulus.

Our worthy president, Mr. Wynne, having obtained the leave of Mr. West of Ruthin Castle, (whose constant readiness to afford every facility in his power to the members of the Association to carry out its objects we shall ever most gratefully acknowledge,) fixed upon the 5th of March for the commencement of our operations, and invited several of our members to join him in the interesting work. Our president, Mr. Dawes, and myself proceeded to the tumulus together, and were there met by Mr. Williams of Rhydycroesau, and Mr. Smith, Mr. West's agent; the latter brought with him two labourers, who, with two others brought by Mr. Wynne, formed the strength of our party.

On our arrival at the tumulus we found that, under the direction of Mr. Smith, a shaft had already been commenced at the apex. The outer covering to the depth of eighteen inches consisted of soil, in which we found at a few inches beneath the sward, on the southeast side, pieces of slate laid horizontally, as if for a covering; but, as slate was not found on the other sides of the mound, its presence on the south-east probably resulted from accident. There being, however, no slate in the neighbourhood, I think this circumstance should not be passed over unnoticed. After cutting through the soil we came to large pebble stones, among which we found ashes, and occasionally pieces of burnt stone; and, observing that the largest stones lay on the north-west side of our shaft, I thought it prudent to cut a trench from the exterior of the tumulus in the direction of these stones, and thus our shaft was transformed into a trench, now extending nearly to the centre of the tumulus, in a southerly direction. We now ascertained that the interior was nothing more or less than a carn, composed of lime, sand, grit and other stones, with which much charcoal was intermixed. The outer stones of the carn were for the most part so large as to be as much as a man could lift, while the viscera consisted of small stones, scarcely larger than the broken stone now used for repairing high-roads. The slope of the stones to the north and north-west showed us that the apex of the carn was rather more to the south of what the external form of the tumulus led us at first to suppose it to be. The height of the tumulus, measured from the apex to the floor, was about six feet. Beneath the carn was a stratum of clay, with which a quantity of charcoal and some small stones were mixed. This stratum was three or four inches in thickness, and the clay of which it was composed evinced extraordinary tenacity, and resembled, to use the simile suggested not inaptly by our workmen, "cart-wheel grease." Underneath was a bed of limerock, which here appeared at the original surface.

In the meantime, under the superintendence of Mr. Wynne, a trench had been cut from the south-east side, in a direction to meet the original one at an obtuse angle. The new trench was sunk to the floor of the tumulus, and carried for several feet in length through mere soil, the substratum of clay appearing underneath it. At the commencement of it, next the floor, we found a layer of charcoal and burnt soil, to the depth of several inches, whence we inferred that this was the site of the funereal fire.

Nearly two days had now been spent in anxious search, during which our only prize was a piece of rusty iron, which Mr. Wynne suggested to be part

of a sword or dagger-blade, near the hilt. Every little crevice created by the removal of the stones was anxiously peeped into. Each turn of the spade was closely inspected, the clay broken up, and even smelt, and our spirits, like the beams of the now setting sun, were growing chill, when some stones in the original trench at its southern extremity, and about the centre of the carn, imbedded in the clay, which now increased in thickness, and contained a greater quantity of charcoal, attracted our attention. They were speedily removed, and the result was the discovery of a fragment of a human skull. A large clasp-knife was now employed to remove the tenacious clay, and we soon discovered, a few inches to the south-west of the skull, the neck bone and one of the bones of the right fore-arm. It was, however, now too dark to proceed further, and other engagements prevented us from returning to our work the following day; the remains were covered up with inverted sods, upon which a heap of soil was piled, and the 9th was fixed upon for the renewal of our interesting investigation. Returning on that day, we found all just as we left it, and, in order to get a clear space round where the body lay, we ordered the men to complete the junction between the two trenches. While this was being done, we observed that the carn was steeper on the south-east side than on the north-west. Some of the outermost stones of the carn being removed, the men came to two stones lying transversely across the trench of such magnitude that each required the united strength of three men to remove it. Underneath and about them we found the bones and teeth of some animal, and a small piece of iron, much corroded. Charcoal and burnt soil still abounded in the south-eastern trench. The junction being effected at the spot where the skeleton lay, and sufficient space being cleared, the knife was again called into requisition. The skull and face, except the lower jaw, and part of the upper one, was literally smashed in. The ribs and bones had all disappeared, and in the clay where they had lain much decomposed matter was

observed. Over where the breast had lain, the bones of the right arm (remaining entire) were crossed to the left breast; and we must not omit to mention that the hinge at the elbow-joint was in its original position—the extremity of the upper bone of the arm actually resting in its socket at the elbow, the tendons only being wanted to keep the two parts of the arm together. We next, in searching for the left arm, discovered, just over where the left breast must have lain, and the right hand would, from the curvature of the arm, have been placed, part of a bronze dagger or spear-head,2 with the rivets remaining in it, with which it had been affixed to the shaft; the point, for about two inches, as we judged, had been broken off. We next searched for the left arm, and found pieces of bone, but not the arm itself; one piece was stained with the corrosion of the bronze. Then, proceeding in a straight line to the south-west of the spot where we found the right arm, we traced the bones of the thigh, reduced by decomposition to a paste, which was inseparable from the clay. Further on in the same line were the bones (both large and small) of the left and right legs, in a sloping position, as if the knee had been slightly bent at an obtuse angle upwards. The small bone of the former was almost entirely decomposed; those of the latter were also much decomposed, and did not lie parallel to those of the former, but pointed more eastward. Beyond these again we came to a mass of decomposed bone, which was probably the remains of the feet. All these bones, though fast decomposing, were in appearance firm and solid. Clay, quite black with charcoal, was rammed tightly about and among them, and pieces of pure charcoal were adhering to parts of the skull and lower jaw. The piece of rusty iron already spoken of was found in the carn, about fifteen inches above where the body lay.

The body appeared to have been laid at length on its

² About October, 1849, some weapons of a type closely resembling this dagger were found at Ebnall, near Oswestry, a place about three miles in a direct line from our tumulus.

back, from the north-east to south-west, the head to the north-east.

The great intermixture of charcoal with the bones and the clay, and indeed throughout the carn, seems, I think, a convincing proof that the fire was contemporaneous with the interment. I should suggest the process of

interment to have been thus:-

First, a grave was cut in the rock; the body was then deposited; the clay and ashes were then spread evenly over the whole surface of the rock, for the purpose perhaps of concealing the exact site of the grave. Upon this the carn was then raised, and the ashes that remained were thrown in with it. It was then covered with soil and sods; and thus, as decomposition took place, the carn would settle, and, by its weight, press down the clay into

the grave.

I submitted a portion of the skull, with ashes adhering to it, part of the right fore-arm, and the animal bones, to Mr. Quekett. He said, neither the animal nor human bones had been burnt. The latter, he said, belonged to a man considerably above six feet-probably as tall as six feet seven inches—an opinion singularly coinciding with facts; for the skeleton in situ with the curved knees measured, from the head to the ancle-joint, six feet two inches—a fact I did not communicate to Mr. Quekett until after he had stated his opinion to me. He guessed, from the appearance of the teeth, the age to be between forty and fifty years. The animal bones were those of a deer and sheep. The charcoal was pure wood charcoal, probably oak, and contained no animal matter.

Now, although I do not attach any literal meaning to the language of poetry, I think the structure of our tumulus, and mode of interment, so far agrees with Llywarch's language as to be worthy of attention. speaks of Gwên "being covered with sod," an expression which he also uses when speaking of his son

Llyngedwy's grave:—

[&]quot;The ruddy grave, is it not covered with sods, The earth of Ammarch?"

For purposes of protection, the carn contained in our tumulus certainly would have been sufficient; and, if it were not, there was no lack of lime and other stone on the spot, that it could not have been made so-as witness the carn already mentioned, within half-a-mile of it. Yet rather than this, the carn was covered over with soil, a fact which I think is remarkable, when compared with the expression in the poem. We find a grave, and such is the expression applied to Gwen's resting place. His grave, too, is said "to be washed by rainy showers"—a very classic mode of expressing the idea of exposure or desertion; and our tumulus crowns a barren rocky eminence; and, I may add, the stature of the man whose skeleton we found curiously accords with the description of Gwên's brethren—that when compared with him they were but "striplings" (gweisionain)—a term which may indicate not only the intellectual superiority of Gwên, but also some Goliath-like bodily powers possessed by him. Here then we have an interment, bronze and iron weapons.

Now if it be admitted that the use of iron for weapons was first adopted by our forefathers about the time of the Roman invasion, and that the rite of interment succeeded that of cremation, the discovery of iron weapons will bring our tumulus within the æra of Roman occupation here, while the rite of interment may bring us to a still later period. For if it be reasonable to suppose that this rite was suggested to Romanized Europe by the practice of the Christians, we may reasonably take the date of the introduction of Christianity into this country as some guide to the date of remains exhibiting the use of that rite; and if so, it may suggest some explanation of the remarkable discovery of a funeral fire in this tumulus, evidently contemporaneous with the use of the rite of interment. For if it be probable that Christianity weaned the heathen Britons from their savage customs, rather by gradual than violent and sudden changes, then may it not be possible that the first step towards the abolition of cremation was the raising of the

funeral pyre, rather for the purpose of honouring than consuming the dead, and that thus the followers of this warrior, though still tenacious of their deeply-cherished ancestral rites, were content to honour their beloved and mighty chief with a funeral pyre, on which, perhaps, many a libation was outpoured, and offering made, for the repose of his immortal shade? Then I think internal evidence raises a strong probability that this tumulus is of comparatively a late period—later certainly than a carn enclosing twelve urns, each containing burnt bones—and further, that in all probability it belongs to a period within the Christian æra. Now Llywarch Hen is said to have fought under Arthur, at Llongborth, A.D. 530, and to have died at the great age of 150 years, A.D. 646, having outlived his twenty-four sons. The latter date, coupled with his age, places his birth in the year A.D. 496; and supposing that his son Gwên was born in the early part of the sixth century, say 516, or 520, he would have attained the age of forty or fifty, between the years 556 and 570. We moreover find an allusion to Gwên's prowess at the battle of Cattraeth, in the poem of Aneurin, who was himself present at, and one of the few who survived, that dreadful carnage,—

"Like a hunter shooting with the bow Was Gwên;"

and Aneurin is said to have died, A.D. 570.

Then, assuming our dates respecting Aneurin and Llywarch Hen to be correct, it is clear that Cwên flourished in the sixth century, and that he must have fallen prior to the year 646, and most probably subsequent to the year 530; and if at the age of forty or fifty, between the years 556 and 570; and to suppose that the warrior entombed beneath our tumulus fell about this period is perfectly consistent with the evidence of time, derived from the tumulus itself. Then take the historic fact, that Gwên fell at the ford of the Morlas—the position of our tumulus within 150 yards of that river—the name of the neighbouring farm, Ty'n y rhyd—the probability that he would be buried near where he fell—

the absence of any other tumulus of similar character on the banks of the Morlas—the coincidence between the dates ascertained, and the internal evidence of time gained from the tumulus itself—the local nonemclature "Gorsedd Wen," and its historic associations; and, I ask, do they not form a strong cord of circumstantial evidence to prove our tumulus to be no other than the tomb of Gwên?

W. WYNNE FFOULKES,

Local Sec. Denbighshire.

ON THE REPARATION AND TENURE OF CASTLES IN WALES AND THE MARCHES.

(Read at Dolgellau.)

We find the castles of Wales and its Marches held by a great variety of persons at the present day, and under various tenures; so that, before anything can be done towards promoting their reparation and conservation, it becomes a question of delicacy and difficulty to discover with whom the right, and therefore the duty, of reparation exists. By far the greater number belong, or are supposed to belong, to private individuals; some are leased out by the crown to various tenants, a few still remain in possession of the crown itself.

³ Camden, in his notice of Uriconium, gives an account of interments found there much resembling that at Gorsedd Wen:—"Their way of burying the dead bodies here (when they did not burn the corpse and put the ashes in urns) has been observed to be this:—First, they made a deep wide grave, in the bottom whereof they fixed a bed of very red clay, and upon that laid the body. With the same sort of clay they covered it, fencing the clay with a sort of thin slates against the earth or mould, which otherwise would have been apt to break through it to the dead body. Lastly, they filled the grave, and covered with great stones, sometimes five or six upon a grave, which are now shrunk into the earth. Some part of the bones thus interred, that have happened to lay dry in the dust or clay, remain pretty sound to this day."—Gibson's Camden, Edition 1695; Addition to Cornavii, pp. 551, 552.

The only castles which I have seen, and about which an intelligent and effective degree of care has been exercised in their reparation are—with the exception of those inhabited by their owners—the castles of Caernarvon in North Wales, and Oystermouth in South Wales. In all the other uninhabited castles ravages, whether of the weather or of man, are now going on unheeded and unprevented, though in a great majority of instances the expenditure of small sums, judiciously applied, would remedy the evil; such are the instances of Beaumaris and Conwy, in North Wales; of Caerphilly¹ and Kidwelly, their rivals, if not their superiors, in South Wales.

I do not dwell upon the importance of repairing and preserving from further decay these castles. I should hope that no member of our Association would require any arguments to convince him of their value as historical and national monuments. I envy not the taste nor the feelings of him who can willingly neglect, or witness the decay of, those buildings which, though now in his possession, were once the habitations of his forefathers, or were the centres of royal and baronial power, conferring strength and dignity on the country. I conceive it to be the duty—the public not less than the private duty—of every one who owns a mediæval castle—I would say any mediæval monument of architectural or historical

¹ Since this paper was read to the Association at Dolgellau, the author has revisited Caerphilly Castle, and he is happy to state that Mr. Evans, of that place, is taking proper steps for keeping up the external boundaries of the castle precincts, so as to exclude boys, and other destructive animals, and is also making excavations in several parts of the edifice, in a highly judicious manner. Traces of three distinct and successive castles have thus been brought to light, and various interesting objects have been found. It may be as well to state, with regard to the question of expense, that Mr. Evans reckons ten pounds a-year sufficient to carry on the works alluded to, and to effect a great deal towards the preservation of the castle. It is now most strictly protected from all trespassers, and not a stone is allowed to be removed. When will the owners of Conwy, Pembroke, Carew and Beaumaris Castles lay down their annual ten pounds for the preservation of those magnificent edifices?—Edd. Arch. Camb.

importance—either to keep it in repair himself, or else to aid and to encourage the efforts of others to promote its reparation and maintenance, and at least not to allow others to injure it. Most of the owners of Welsh castles quietly allow time and bad weather to do their worst to these buildings, without any attempt at prevention; others allow man to join in the work of destruction;—bad taste and poor patriotism in either case! But I believe that many would be willing to repair these buildings, or rather to let other persons do it for them, if they were not deterred by imaginary fears as to cost and trouble.

Now, to remove such fears where they exist, I would observe that architects and builders have in many cases done much harm to architecture and archæology by the extravagant and needlessly high estimates, which they are fond of making, whether for repairs or for constructions of castles and churches. It has been from this, perhaps, as one of the most fertile sources, that the apathy of castle owners has arisen. But, on the other hand, I would point to the instance of Caernarvon Castle, and there show how much has been done for a comparatively small sum of money, with the view of encouraging such persons not to despair of effecting so desirable an object with comparatively limited means. At Caernaryon extensive excavations and reconstructions had to be carried on—the works extended over several years—and yet the whole cost for such an immense pile of building, perhaps the finest in Wales, has been under £3,000. The works were indeed entrusted to an architect at the head of his

On the other hand, the comparatively small castle of Oystermouth, belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, has been put into a state which will ensure its existence for some centuries, at the moderate cost of only £200; but then the works were entrusted to a gentleman who thoroughly understood his subject, and who superin-

profession, and hence their solidity and cheapness.

tended all operations in person.

In most instances the most urgent requirements are

the stopping of cracks, the propping up of undermined portions, and the removal of ivy which has exceeded a certain growth. These are operations that need not be made very costly; excavations, though highly desirable, may be carried on at future periods; but at the present moment the expenditure of £100 or £200 upon castles of moderate size, such as Denbigh, Flint, Kidwelly, Carew, Manorbeer, Coyty, Cilgerran, &c., would, under proper management, ensure their existence for a very considerable lapse of time. Larger edifices would require larger sums. Conwy, Harlech, Beaumaris, Pembroke and Caerphilly might require £1,000 each. But even these sums might be distributed over a series of years, and the most urgent repairs in each instance might be effected at the expense of a few hundreds.

I would strongly recommend any owner of a castle to have the condition of the building carefully ascertained by some competent architect—all architects are by no means competent—and thus, by the application of his own good sense, and that of some of his archæological friends, to see how much would really be required for stopping at once the more threatening ravages of time, and for putting things on a footing that might admit of further works being carried on upon their basis, in future days. I confidently think that the result would be a determination, in many instances, to do something without loss of time, of the nature I propose, and I am sure that the necessity for it is becoming greater every day.

To single out a very few of the more prominent instances of necessity: I will mention Denbigh, Flint, Beaumaris, Carew, Kidwelly, Pembroke, where, unless something be speedily done, most valuable portions of these buildings will become shapeless masses of ruin.

Others of very high architectural and archæological value, such as Conwy, Harlech, Caerphilly, Manorbeer, should certainly be begun, and are each worthy of many careful years of restoration.

In cases where the absolute property of a castle is

invested in any private individuals or corporations, it is only by appeals to their good feelings, or their interests, that such a desirable object as the reparation and preservation of the edifice can be attempted; but when the property of the castle still remains in the hands of the crown, then it becomes a public right to inquire into the condition of that building, and to aid the crown in its wishes to have the building preserved. For, if I am not mistaken, the Board of Woods and Forests, with the express wishes of her Most Gracious Majesty, has declared itself willing to repair any castle in Wales of which the crown is the actual owner; and it is only some difficulty or other, arising from uncertainty of tenure, or the opposition of the beneficiary tenants, that has hindered this laudable decision from being carried into Thus Caernarvon was repaired, because the right of the crown was clear. The Board of Woods and Forests is willing to repair Harlech in the same manner; and I cannot understand why this has not already been done, for I presume that the actual tenant would not offer any opposition to so good a work.

With the view, however, of strengthening the hands of the Board of Woods and Forests, and of encouraging the cause of castle repairing in Wales, as well as, most particularly, of promoting the scientific study of such buildings, I venture to recommend that some member or members of this Association, resident in or near London, be requested to search the public records, and to make further necessary inquiries, with the view of ascertaining upon what private conditions the several crown castles in Wales have been either granted or leased to the persons now in possession of them. would then be seen how far these persons were performing the conditions of their grants or leases, and how far the Board of Woods and Forests might come forward, either to aid in, or to effect, the reparation of those edifices. Such an inquiry could best be carried on in London; and local inquiries in the country would then come in elucidation of the discoveries to be made in the central offices.

For it may be fairly asserted that the history of Welsh castle tenures is as yet but little known, and that were it once fairly brought out and investigated, the first step would be taken for setting a good example to private owners, by procuring the conservation of all the crown castles throughout the principality.

I have little doubt that such a member or members of the Association could be selected, who would undertake the duty just alluded to; and I am sure that he or they would be entitled to the thanks of the whole country for such good service done in the cause of national honour.

I beg leave, therefore, seriously to urge this point on the attention of the committee and the Association; and to recommend that steps be immediately taken for carrying it into effect.

The information so obtained might be communicated to the Association at its next annual meeting, and would form a most appropriate subject for the pages of its Journal.

H. L. J.

HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL NOTICES OF OWAIN GLYNDWR.

No. I.

From the conquest of Wales by Edward the First, to the accession of Henry the Fourth, that country had continued in a state of submission, interrupted only by some partial outbreaks. Though more than a century had passed away since that event, the spirit of animosity which it had engendered might be said to be rather suppressed than extinguished. The annexation of the Principality to the crown of England was borne by the Welsh with the more reluctance, as English laws and customs were forced upon them, and English officers appointed to carry them into execution, who often acted with extreme rigour and partiality. In the reign of Richard the Second, an attachment to the person of that king seems to have sprung up amongst the Welsh,

whence we infer they were sensible of an amelioration in their condition; but the deposition of Richard in 1399, combined with the previous loss of their national independence, prepared them to follow any leader who would head his countrymen against the usurping dynasty, and thereby afford them an opportunity of regaining the sovereignty of their native land. Historians generally dwell upon the injustice and insults offered by Lord Grey of Ruthin, to Owain Glyndwr, as the origin of this war in Wales; but the train was already laid in the spirit of independence inherent in the Welsh character, and their impatience of foreign rule; the spark only that ignited the train, was supplied by the resentment of

Owain at his personal wrongs.

Owain Glyndwr, or Owain ap Gruffydd, as he wrote his own name, was the son of Gruffydd Vychan, tenth in lineal descent from Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, prince of Powys, head of one of the five royal tribes of Wales, by Elena, eldest daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, by his wife, Elinor Goch, grand-daughter of Llewelyn, last prince of Wales. Writers vary in the account of the day of his birth; one manuscript fixes it on the 28th of May, 1354; that preserved by Lewis Owen fixes the event five years earlier. The place of his birth is likewise uncertain, but probably it was either at Glyndwrdy in Merionethshire, or Sycharth in Denbighshire. He received a liberal education, which he completed at one of the Inns of Court, where he studied till he became a barrister; whilst there he attracted the notice of Richard the Second, to whose household he became attached as one of the squires of the body. His forensic views seem to have given place to the more powerful attractions of a military life, whereby he appears to have ingratiated himself in a remarkable degree with Richard, whom he accompanied as his scutiger, or shield-bearer, in his wars in France and Ireland, and was in attendance on that king when he was taken on his return from Ireland, at the castle of Flint, by the means of Henry Bolingbroke. On the fall

of his patron he acted as esquire to the earl of Arundel, and afterwards retired to his native country, lamenting the fallen fortunes of his royal master, to whom he continued faithful to the last. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer of Hanmer, in Flintshire, one of the judges of the King's Bench, by whom he had a large family, both sons and daughters, and would probably have ended his days in peaceful obscurity, but for a feud with one of his Norman neighbours, and the

lowering aspect of public affairs.

A year had scarcely elapsed in this peaceful retreat when an altercation arose between Glyndwr and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, whose lands lay contiguous to the hereditary estates of Glyndwr. Some years previously Lord Grey had taken possession of a large tract of uncultivated ground which had always been claimed by Owain, and which the latter recovered from its illegal occupier by a suit at law. Lord Grey thus compelled to relinquish the property he had unjustly seized, nourished the most vindictive resentment against his opponent; and, since the dethronement of Richard had destroyed the influence of Glyndwr at the English court, he again took forcible possession of the land in question, and retained it in open defiance of the right owner, who in consequence presented a remonstrance to parliament, but the appeal was treated with neglect.

The enmity of Lord Grey did not stop here. In the year 1400 Henry the Fourth meditated an expedition against Scotland, and sent writs of summons to his several feudal barons and tenants in capite, requiring their attendance in that military enterprise. A writ of that nature was directed to Owain, and entrusted to Lord Grey for the purpose of being delivered to him. This however that nobleman vindictively neglected to do, and Glyndwr was not apprised of the royal mandate until it was too late to comply with it. His non-attendance was immediately ascribed by Henry to a spirit of disaffection, and the construction was rendered more plausible by some malevolent and unfounded representations of Lord Grey.

The consequence was that Glyndwr was pronounced a traitor, and his property declared to be confiscated.

Wrongs such as these were sufficiently calculated to exasperate the feelings of any one not wholly insensible; but on the temper of Owain they operated in a peculiar and powerful manner, connected as they were with circumstances both public and private. The first act of Owain, resulting from the treatment he had experienced, was to repossess himself of the lands of which he had been so wantonly deprived; and having accomplished this, he proceeded to retort upon Lord Grey the consequences of his injustice, by seizing also a considerable portion of that nobleman's hereditary domains. Grey was at this time at the English court, and as soon as the news of the events arrived there, he was dispatched by Henry, with Lord Talbot, to inflict summary vengeance upon Glyndwr; and, such was the secresy and expedition with which the two noblemen executed the king's commands, that they nearly succeeded in taking by surprise the object of their pursuit. His house was almost surrounded before he was aware of their approach; and it was only by his superior local knowledge that he found the means of escaping to the adjoining wood.

The die was now cast. Glyndwr, proscribed and assailed as a traitor, had no alternative but to support the character with firmness and energy. He accordingly profited by a fair held at Ruthin in Denbighshire, on the 20th September, 1400, within the territory of Lord Grey, to subject that town to pillage and conflagration. Many of the inhabitants, as well as of the English merchants that attended the fair, were slain in the general confusion, and such as escaped this fate had to lament the plunder or destruction of their property. After this exploit, which may be considered as the first act of public hostility on the part of Owain, he made an open avowal of his designs, and was proclaimed Prince of Wales, and retired to the neighbouring mountains, for the purpose both of sheltering himself from his enemies, and of gaining time to prepare for

new operations. The rumour of the revolt in the meantime spread rapidly through all parts of Wales, and numbers flocked to the standard of the insurgent chief, some from a private dislike of Lord Grey, others from political hostility towards Henry, whom all the adherents

of the late king denounced as an usurper.

As soon as Henry was apprised of these insurrectionary movements, he determined to attack the author of them in person, and if possible to crush in its infancy a rebellion which, he foresaw, might in his particular situation assume a dangerous character. Accordingly he entered North Wales with a large force, comprising the feudal levies of ten English counties, and proceeded as far as Anglesey, marking his course by blood and desolation; but he was unable to bring Glyndwr to an engagement. That wily chieftain, following the example of his countrymen on former occasions of a similar nature, took refuge amongst the recesses of Snowdon, and Henry was obliged to retrace his steps without having accomplished any part of his enterprise. As Owain's influence and interest lay both in North Wales and in South Wales, during the summer of 1401 he marched with a detachment of his army, consisting of one hundred and twenty men-atarms,1 and posted them on Plynlimon, on the confines of Cardiganshire and Montgomeryshire.2

¹ The man-at-arms at that period was to consist of three archers and one swordsman, according to a French authority quoted by Pennant, which computation would make the force altogether four

hundred and eighty men.

² Plynlimon, thus fixed upon for their summer quarters, is actually composed of three mountains, though frequently, but erroneously, spoken of as one. Yet, though only three mountains have been said to form the chain of Plynlimon proper, each of these may again be more properly described as the centre of a vast group of hills ranging one round another, extending from the vicinity of Llanfair Caereinion in the north-east, till they decline on the south-west into the abrupt cliffs which bound the bay of Cardigan, near Aberystwyth. A large portion of the hills which compose the centre of the group on the south and east spread into Cardiganshire, and thence branch out into extensive chains running through Radnorshire, Brecknockshire and Caermarthenshire. Plynlimon is one of the

The selection of this position by Owain as the basis of his future operations, offensive and defensive, evinced great foresight and policy, as from its central position it was admirably adapted for receiving succours from his vassals and friends in each part of the Principality. His small band of men, entrenched by the numerous and extensive turbaries which surround it, and are only passable at certain points, might have braved the whole power of his invaders for a long time, if supplied with provisions. The position also was well suited for the purpose of hostile excursions into the Marches; and from thence he ravaged such parts of the county of Montgomery as proved hostile; the county town of Montgomery was taken by surprise, and sacked; the suburbs of Pool were burnt; the abbey of Cwmhir in Radnorshire also felt his power. He next visited Maelienydd, or New Radnor, a place at that time of great strength, being fortified by the Lords-Marchers with a wall and castle. The garrison, consisting of threescore men, were all brought out and beheaded on the brink of the castle yard, and the town laid in ashes; and it has never recovered its former importance since that desolating visitation. This list of military operations

highest mountains in Wales, attaining an elevation of 2463 feet above the level of the sea; the ruggedness and inhospitality of its environs is in general so unrelieved that it affords little food for the picturesque enthusiasm merely of those who venture on the labours and perils of the ascent. All around is vast. Alps upon alps, Pelion upon Ossa, or any other swelling image the visitor may affect, would fail to exaggerate the scene. It is the most dangerous mountain in Wales to ascend, on account of the frequent bogs which intersect it, and hold out no warning, concealed as they are under a smooth and apparently firm turf; its ascent should never be attempted, even in our days, without the aid of a guide. A striking feature in the character of this mountain is its furnishing a head to three rivers, all celebrated among both poets and topographers—the Severn, the Wye and the Rheidol. To find the sources of two rivers, so long, so copious, yet so distant from each other as the Severn and Wye, with that of a third in a still different direction, of scarcely inferior beauty, though of less volume, all close together, supplied from the springs of a single mountain, is one of those unexpected occurrences with which nature delights to surprise the admirers of her boundless skill and power.

planned here might be much augmented, as the castle of Dinas, near Talgarth in Brecknockshire, was burnt, and those of the Hay, Abergavenny, Grosmont, Usk, the Bishop's Castle, and others, were all, either in part or

wholly, the victims of his daring sallies.

Owain, perceiving the fidelity and attachment of the Flemish inhabitants of Pembrokeshire and the lower part of Cardiganshire to the interest of the English king, made them also feel his presence by incursions upon them from his stronghold of Plynlimon. These Flemings were the descendants of that people who had been planted as a colony by Henry the First at Rhoose in Pembrokeshire, to curb and harass the native Welsh. Glyndwr in turn now so harassed them that, bent on retaliation and the removal of so dangerous an enemy, they assembled a body of fifteen hundred men, made a most expeditious march, and such was the celerity of their movements, that they succeeded in detaching Glyndwr from his main position on Plynlimon, and surrounded him and his men on a neighbouring mountain called Mynydd Hyddgen, to great disadvantage.3

Here Owain and his chosen band, which could not have exceeded five hundred men, were encompassed on all sides of the hill by the superior number of his opponents, thirsting for revenge, and eager for the fray. Like the lion taken in the toils, he made a long, vigorous and obstinate resistance; but when he found it impossible to retain his position any longer, cut off from all supplies, and that he had no alternative than to surrender or make some

³ Hyddgen, the scene of action, is an upland farm or sheep-walk in Montgomeryshire, and lies north from Plynlimon somewhat more than three miles, and is separated from that mountain by the river Rheidol and its channel. The top of Hyddgen, called Y'r Wylfa, or the Watch Tower, very characteristically, from the view it affords of the early channel of the Rheidol, and of the hills on each side, presents a circular area of firm ground, surrounded by a sharp declivity or sloping front, while the ground below is soft and yielding. The position therefore was one that might be tenable for a long time, by a force of determination and spirit, against another much superior in number, if not forced to surrender for want of supplies.

desperate effort, he addressed his followers with a fervour excited by the occasion, telling them they must be prepared to die of famine, or cut their way through the enemy sword in hand; as, if unsuccessful, there was nothing to anticipate but death. Finally, he urged them, if death were to be their doom, at least to meet it with arms in their hands. Upon this he directed them to charge the enemy, and give no quarter; and they executed the command with such impetuosity, that the Flemings, thrown into confusion, took to flight in the greatest disorder, leaving two hundred of their party

dead on the field of battle.

The approach of the Flemings from the south to surprise Owain was probably along the valley of the Rheidol, which, at its first descent from the hills, inclines to a southerly direction, and would thus far be their guide, till at the well known Falls of the Devil's Bridge, it meets with the Mynach, and takes a more westerly course to the sea. From the falls of the Rheidol river to the Teifi is but a few miles distance, whence that river might be their route from the borders of Pembrokeshire. This supposition, in the absence of regular roads, at least bears the marks of probability, and is strengthened by the vestiges of a strongly entrenched encampment on the Teifi, near Tregaron, called Castell Fleming to this day. Owain's access to his mountain fortress from Machynlleth, and the country well affected to his cause, might have been from Dolgaradog, at the foot of the Delefi mountain, either by the pass of Hengwm, Cyfeiliog, and Rhiwvyonoc, or else by that of Rhosygarreg, Cwmgwarchau and Rhaiadr The names of Cwmgwarchau, or "the Guard's Du. Valley," also, Y'r Wylfa, "the Watch Tower," Dinas, "the Fortification," and others in the vicinity, are all illustrative of military positions, and refer to military occupation of the country, when wars and rumours of wars frighted the propriety of the pastoral inhabitants of the land. One cairn, commanding the pass of Henbwlch on the Cardiganshire side of Plynlimon, still retains the name of Cairn Owain; whilst the names of

Cadogan and Cyfeiliog occurring in the district, awaken recollections associated with those names in British history. On Esgair y Ffordd, a mountain-ridge in sight of Plynlimon, and adjoining Hyddgen, is a round earthen tumulus, which may have been the place of sepulture of those who fell in battle on this occasion, and near it is a round cairn of grey mountain stones. On Trawsvynydd, another ridge, other tumuli exist. Indeed the numerous carneddau and tumuli that present themselves to notice on Plynlimon, can only be referred to this period of history, or to the still earlier and more unhappy intestine wars amongst our countrymen themselves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This gallant exploit, achieved against so great a superiority of forces, had the effect not only of extending the popularity of the Welsh chieftain among his countrymen, and of producing a considerable accession to the number of his followers, but also of awakening the apprehensions of Henry. He therefore entered the Principality a second time, about the beginning of June, 1401, for the purpose of quelling the insurrection. During this invasion, the venerable abbey of Strata Florida was destroyed by the royal troops, and the country around ravaged; but the king was compelled to make an inglorious and disastrous retreat.

Yet we find him soon afterwards meditating a fresh enterprise against Glyndwr, for which purpose he collected a large army; but the event was infelicitous as in the preceding instances; and Glyndwr found himself, at the commencement of 1402, in a formidable attitude. Partisans continued to crowd to his banners, and the smiles of hope grew brighter with his increasing numbers. Lord Grey was the first who felt the effects of

⁴ The idea here thrown out by the learned author of this paper, concerning the age of carneddau and tumuli on various mountains of Wales, is too valuable to be lost sight of. Antiquaries should bear it mind in their examination of such remains. We venture to call the attention of Mr. Wynne, Mr. Ffoulkes, Mr. Cliffe, and others, to this subject.—Edd. Arch. Camb.

Owain's power. That nobleman, strongly attached to Henry, and impatient of the injuries which he and his friends had received from Glyndwr, raised a considerable army, encountered him, was defeated, and taken

prisoner.

Historians differ as to the scene of this action; some say it was on the banks of the Vyrniew in Montgomeryshire, others that it was in the neighbourhood of Ruthin; the latter seems more probable, as the castle of Ruthin was the chief seat of Lord Grey, and Owain is said to have drawn his incautious adversary into the field, where he fell into an ambuscade, and being taken, was carried fast bound into confinement in the fastnesses of Snowdon.⁵ Lord Grey remained a long time in captivity, nor did he regain his liberty without paying a ransom of 10,000 marks.

Glyndwr's next operations were directed against some individuals of note in North Wales, adherents of the English, whom he proceeded to punish. He destroyed their houses and other property. It is probably to this period that we are to appropriate an instance of chastisement at once cruel and singular, which he is said to have inflicted upon one of his opponents, who was also his kinsman, Hywel Sele, who lived at Nannau in Merionethshire, and had rendered himself obnoxious to his relative by the zeal with which he espoused the cause of King Henry; the consequence was that an enmity, heightened perhaps by their consanguinity, had sprung up between them. The abbot of Cymmer Abbey, desirous of producing a reconciliation, contrived that the two cousins should meet. Hywel had the reputation of being an excellent archer, and as he and Glyndwr were walking in the grounds of Nannau, the latter pointed out a deer for the purpose of testing his kinsman's dexterity. The bow was immediately

⁵ Can Mr. Morgan supply any data for ascertaining the exact place of Lord Grey's imprisonment, and of the actual routes taken by Henry the Fourth in these two incursions under the king in person mentioned in this paper?—Edd. Arch. Camb.

bent, and the arrow discharged, but not at the proper object; Hywel had traitorously aimed it at the breast of Glyndwr, which it struck, but as the chieftain wore armour under his clothes, the purpose of the assassin was foiled. Hywel was instantly seized by the followers of his intended victim, and thrown into the hollow of a tree, where he was left to perish, and where his skeleton, tradition adds, was found about forty years afterwards.

According to another version of this narrative, Glyndwr and Hywel accidently met while the former was enjoying the pleasures of the chase on the domains of An altercation ensued, and terminated in his cousin. an appeal to arms. Hywel fell in the combat, and his lifeless body was thrust into the cavity of a tree—a circumstance that detracts much from the cruelty of the deed as above related. About forty years afterwards a friend of Glyndwr, who was present during the transaction, revealed it to Hywel's surviving family, and his remains were discovered as already described. Until that period it was not known what fate had befallen the unfortunate lord of Nannau, such was the mysterious secresy in which his death was involved. On this occasion Glyndwr burnt the house, and committed other devastations on the domains of his treacherous relative, and some traces of Hywel Sele's mansion were to be seen a few years ago, a mere compost of cinders and ashes.

The tree to which the above narrated tradition belongs, an aged oak, was standing until within a few years in the park at Nannau, the residence of Sir Robert W. Vaughan, Bart. It fell during the night of the 17th of July, 1818, when the weather was remarkably serene and sultry, which seems to show the extreme age to which it had arrived. It must have existed many centuries, and the superstitious attributes with which the traditions of the country had invested it, had made it as noted as it was venerable. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Marmion," says:—

[&]quot;All nations have their omens drear, Their legends wild of woe and fear; To Cambria look, the peasant see,

Bethink him of Glyndwrdy, And shun the spirit's blasted tree."

It was known by the name of "Derwen," or "Ceubren

yr Ellyll," or the goblin's hollow oak tree.

Owain, pursuing his resentment against all the chieftains unfavourable to his views, advanced with his army into Herefordshire, on the borders of South Wales, and carried fire and sword through the lands of his opponents. None suffered so severely as the vassals and tenants of Edward Mortimer, earl of March, a child of ten years of age, who with his brother Roger was in custody of the king at the time. Henry was conscious of the just title of this child to the crown in preference to himself, being descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third; his title had even been acknow-This increased the king's appreledged in Parliament. hensions, and made him consider the misfortunes of the house of Mortimer the strengthening of his own throne. Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the youth, collected a large body of his nephew's tenants and retainers out of the county of Hereford and the adjacent parts, particularly from Maelienydd in Radnorshire, and with them marched against the invaders. A bloody action ensued near Pilleth in Radnorshire, a little south-east of Presteign. Some writers assert that the archers of Mortimer's army bent their bows against their own party. says that March's Welsh tenants took to flight at the first onset. Victory declared in favour of Glyndwr, as the whole array of Herefordshire was routed on that field, and more than 1000 Englishmen were slain.

One of the next acts of Owain was to obtain the sanction of his countrymen to his assumption of the royal authority, and for this purpose he convoked a national assembly or parliament at Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire. Of this assemblage no records have reached posterity, yet we are informed that the ceremony of coronation was performed, and Owain's title as Prince of Wales fully and formally acknowledged. The ancient senate house, wherein the nobility and gentry of Wales held their

sessions, was situate in Maengwyn Street, the principal thoroughfare of the town. It stood till a very recent period, and had a most venerable appearance, exhibiting marks of great antiquity, being built of the perishable shale stone of the country. At the back was a flight of stone stairs leading into the great room or hall of state, and here beams and rafters of curiously carved wood, and other symbols of the pristine importance of the building, were to be seen. Having fallen into a dilapidated state, the greater part was a few years since taken down, and other buildings erected.⁶ A spacious arched porch or entrance is now the only external sign of the once honourable destination of the original edifice. An incident occurred on this occasion to mar in some degree the harmony of the meeting. Sir David Gam, a Brecknockshire gentleman, was present, under the pretence of uniting in its object, but really with very different views. He had plotted the death of his countryman and prince; but the scheme was discovered when on the point of being executed. David was seized and imprisoned, and would instantly have met with condign punishment, had it not been for the intercession of some of Owain's best friends and partisans. Party zeal, and the hopes of reward from the English court, probably incited him to attempt the unworthy deed.7

scribes him as holding his estates under him of the honour of Hereford,

⁶ One of the many instances of that excessive apathy for the preservation of historical monuments, and dislike of antiquity, which prevails in Wales. There is abundance of talk about "national honour," "national dignity," "national independence," "ancient renown," "early provess," &c., &c.; but is it a question as to whether any venerable monument illustrative of, and proving the claims of the country to, such distinction shall be preserved?—that monument is almost sure to be immediately demolished. Let anybody take the trouble to ask the Welsh nobility and gentry to repair and preserve their ancient castles—we will say nothing of their churches or their mansions—to prevent the carneddau, or cromlechau, or meini hirion, or camps from being destroyed—and to spend a fen pounds for these objects; and let him see what answers he will get in by far the majority of cases! Patriotic words are as abundant as patriotic deeds are scarce.—Edd. Camb.

⁷ Carte, the historian, says he was instigated by Henry, and de-

Public events having about this time⁸ united the earls of Northumberland and Douglas in league against Henry, overtures were made by them to Glyndwr for an alliance, to which he readily acceded. In the following year the Scots invaded England with an army of twelve or thirteen thousand men, under the command of the gallant Douglas. The earl of Northumberland, and his son Hotspur, were engaged in collecting and organizing troops in the north, for the professed purpose of repressing the Scots, and of invading Scotland, as soon as the king should join them with his forces, but with the real intention of joining the Welsh and Scots. Hotspur, taking from these troops eight score horse, marched southward from Berwick at their head, and came through Lancashire and Cheshire, avowing his defection, and spreading his rebellious principles on every side. He proclaimed everywhere that their favourite Richard, though deposed by the tyranny of Bolingbroke, was still alive; many gathered round him, resolved to avenge the wrongs of their deposed lord, especially the gentry of Cheshire, a county ever affectionate to Richard. A body also of Welsh insurgents joined Hotspur, and marched with him to Lichfield, carrying the badge of the late king, the stag, as their party distinction.

and as having long been in the personal service of Bolingbroke, and firmly attached to his interest. Glyndwr kept him in close confinement, and the king, after repeated efforts to obtain the liberation of Gam, was under the necessity, in 1412, of issuing a writ, permitting his esquire, Llewelyn ap Hoel, father of David Gam, to make use of the services of Sir John Tiptoffe, seneschal, and William Boteler, receiver, of Brecknock, to treat with Owain about the redemption of his son, who is described as kept "in forti et durâ prisonâ," or in case of failure, to endeavour to seize some of Owain's friends, that might be exchanged for him. On the extinction of the revolt David obtained his liberty, after a tedious incarceration of ten years, and was cordially received at the court of Henry the Fifth, whom he accompanied in his wars in France, and fell at the battle of Agincourt, in the personal defence of his sovereign.—[Sir David Gam's mansion still exists close to the town of Brecon, in the same state of neglect as all the historical monuments of that town and county.—Edd. Arch. CAMB.]

8 1402 and 1403.

The king was on his march towards the north with the intention of joining the forces raised by the Percies, and of advancing with them into Scotland, and that expedition well ended, of returning to quell the rebels in Wales. When the king was at Higham Ferrers, we have it by a letter under his own hand, dated the 10th July, 1403, that he believed himself on his road northward to form a junction with Hotspur and Northumberland, (of whose allegiance he had not entertained any suspicion,) to make a joint expedition against the Scots. Five days only at the farthest intervened between the date of this letter, and the king's proclamation at Burton-upon-Trent (still on his journey northward) to the sheriffs, to raise their counties, and join him to resist the Percies, whose rebellion had then suddenly been made known to him. proclamation is dated the 16th July, 1403, and the king decided instantly to grapple with this unlooked for revolt, and attack Hotspur before he was joined by his confederates; and Hotspur's impetuosity probably seconded the king's policy of hastening an immediate engagement. Henry of Monmouth was on the Welsh borders, and proceeded thence and formed a junction with his father; and the battle of Shrewsbury was fought on the 21st of July, only four days after the issuing the king's proclamation at Burton-upon-Trent, between the forces of the king and the prince on the one side, and those of Hotspur and his uncle Worcester on the other.

Owain Glyndwr is said by Leland to have promised Percy to be present at the battle of Shrewsbury. He is reported by Pennant to have remained as if spell-bound with 12,000 men at Oswestry. Tradition also points to the still existing remains of an oak at Shelton, into the topmost branches of which he climbed to see the turn of the battle, resolving to proceed or retire as that should be, having come with his forces to that spot time enough to join in the conflict. The question involving Owain Glyndwr's good faith and valour, or zeal and activity, is one of much interest, and deserves to be patiently inves-

tigated; whilst an attentive examination of authentic documents, and a careful comparison of dates, are essential to the establishment of truth; the result of the inquiry may be new, and yet not on that account the

less to be relied upon.

That Owain gladly promised to co-operate with the Percies there is every reason to regard as true; that he undertook to be with them at Shrewsbury on the day of battle cannot, it should seem, be true; probably he never heard of any expectation of such an engagement; and the first news which reached him relating to it may have been tidings of Percy's death, and the discomfiture of his troops. That the reports have originated in an entire ignorance of Owain's probable position at the time, and of the sudden, unforeseen and unexpected character of the struggle to which Bolingbroke's instantaneous decision forced the Percies, will evidently appear if, instead of relying on vague tradition, we follow in search of the reality, where facts only, or fair inferences from ascertained facts, may conduct It appears then to be satisfactorily demonstrable by original documents, interpreted independently of preconceived theory, that four days only before King Henry's proclamation against the Percies was issued at Burton-upon-Trent, Owain Glyndwr was in the extreme divisions of Caermarthenshire, most actively and anxiously engaged in reducing the English castles which still held out against him, and by no means free from formidable antagonists in the field, being fully occupied at that juncture, and likely to be occupied for some time. It must also be remembered that the king published his proclamation from the north, as soon as he had himself heard of Hotspur's movements, and that even his knowledge of the hostile intentions of the Percies preceded the battle itself only by the brief space of five days. This circumstance bears so immediately on the charge made against the Welsh chieftain, that it seems to claim a full and minute investigation. The documents furnishing the facts are chiefly original letters,

preserved in the British Museum, and made accessible by having been published by Sir Henry Ellis, (second series). The first of the series of documents from which it is presumed that light is thrown on this subject, is a letter from Richard Kyngeston, archdeacon of Hereford, addressed to the king, dated Hereford, Sunday, July 8th, and therefore 1403, just thirteen days before the battle of Shrewsbury. It is written in French, but the postscript, added evidently in vast trepidation, and as if under the sudden fear that he had not expressed himself strongly enough, is in English; his eagerness for the arrival of the king in Wales, by forced marches, is expressed with an earnestness which is almost ridiculous:—

"Our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king. I recommend myself humbly to your highness. From day to day letters are arriving from Wales, by which you may learn that the whole country is lost, unless you go forth as quickly as possible. Be pleased to set forth with all your power, and march as well by night as day, for the salvation of those parts. It will be a great disgrace, as well as damage, to loose, in the beginning of your reign, a country which your ancestors gained and retained so long, for which people speak very unfavourably. I send the copy of a letter which came from John Scydmore this morning. Written in haste, at Hereford, the 8th day of July.

"Your lowly creature,
"RICHARD KYNGESTON,
"Archdeacon of Hereford.

"P.S.—And for God's love my liege lord, think on yourself and your estate; or, by my troth, all is lost else; but an ye come yourself, all other will follow after. On Friday last Caermarthen town was taken and burnt, and the castle yielden by Ro. Wydmor; and the Castle Emlyn is yielden; and slain of the town of Caermarthen more than fifty persons. Written in great haste on Sunday, and I cry you mercy, and put me in your high grace, that I write so shortly, for, by my troth that I owe to you, it is needful."

This ecclesiastic, Kyngeston, was much in the royal confidence. By commission dated June 16th, 1404, he, as archdeacon of Hereford, is authorised to receive the subsidy in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester and

Warwick, and to dispose of it in the support of men-atarms and archers to resist the Welsh; and, three years afterwards, sums were paid to him out of the exchequer, for the maintenance of soldiers remaining with him in the parts of Wales, for the safeguard of the same. He seems to have been not only the dispenser of the money, but the captain of the men. The debt, however, had probably been due from the crown for a long time. He was for many years master of the wardrobe to Henry the Fourth, and during his time the expences of the court appear to have become more extravagant, and to have led to remonstrance.

This letter is the more valuable because, though the year is not annexed in words, the information that he wrote on Sunday, July 8th, fixes the date to 1403, the next year to which this date would apply being 1408, four years after he ceased to be archdeacon of Hereford.

T. O. MORGAN.

Aberystwyth.

BEDDAU GWYR ARDUDWY.

(Read at Dolgellau.)

Ir frequently falls to the lot of the antiquary to meet with memorial-stones, graves, and other ancient relics, about which the local traditions are obscure and mysterious. Experience however has taught us that, in most matters of that kind, tradition is not to be wholly rejected, any more than it is to be implicitly received as historically true. It has been the means, very frequently, of supplying the hiatus in many a historical narration, and of establishing many a doubtful point. In the present instance a tradition exists, more entire in its parts than many others, and it is of an interesting character; but, being enveloped in mystery, its genuineness cannot be vouched for. I shall advert to it presently.

The graves which form the subject of our inquiry are known by the name of Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy; which, translated, would mean, the Graves of the Men of Ardudwy. Their site and condition I examined this day; and that they are places of interment I think there can be no doubt. They are situated in a remote and lonely part of the retired parish of Ffestiniog, about twenty-one miles from Dolgellau, on either side of the Roman road known by the name of Sarn Helen, and on the acclivity of the hill, up which this road winds. From a small elevation contiguous, the eye can command a considerable tract of country, though there is nothing in its features that is inviting, except towards the west. The Roman road here is in a tolerable state of preservation, and breasts, with a few windings, a steep defile, guarded on the north and east by rocks of stern and forbidding aspects. Turning to the west the scene, though confined, is beautiful and imposing, presenting all the essentials of a picturesque landscape. In the foreground, to the right, are the rocks and extensive slate quarries of Ffestiniog; immediately in front lies the much admired vale of Ffestiniog; in the mid-distance is the beautiful estuary of Traeth-bychan, with the Portmadoc embankment; while, in the extreme distance are the sea, and the blue promontory of Lleyn in Caernarvonshire.

Gibson's edition of Camden's "Britannia" contains the first allusion that I have seen to this spot, and to the tradition. In the notes to that work, the number of graves is laid down at thirty. Pennant describes the place, and gives the tradition. In his wake follow other tourists, who pretend to have visited the place, and state the graves to be thirty-six in number, distinguished by stones placed at the head and foot of each grave. There might, at the time when the notes for Gibson's "Camden" were being compiled, have been thirty or thirty-six in number; but, at the present day, two head-stones only remain, and no separate graves are distinguishable. An intelligent peasant who conducted me to them, and

who had resided near the place for sixty years and more, informed me, that "he had been there hundreds of times, and taken notice of this particular spot, on account of the remarkable tradition connected with it; but never remembered to have seen many head-stones. At one time, long ago, there might have been a dozen—never more."

The graves—for such assuredly there had been—appear to have been enclosed within two spaces, each of an elliptic form, and surrounded each by a wall of stones. Nothing now remains of this wall, besides the few foundation stones which show themselves above the natural turf, barely serving to mark the ancient limits. That the graves were not placed without due regard to order, I think may safely be inferred from the two existing headstones, which project upwards of a foot above the ground, and mark separate graves, being placed at right angles with each other. There are at present no cairns, as some persons would have us to believe, nor are there many stones about, most having been carried away, apparently for building purposes. I am not prepared to say that there have been no cairns, but that there are no cistvaens I feel confident.

Some slight excavations appear to have been made here at no very remote time; but I failed to learn of any human remains having been exhumed, or the finding of

any relics of art.

Such is the present state of these memorials. There is but little to arrest the eye; and it would be difficult, I think, for a stranger to discover the place, without good

local assistance.

The tradition connected with the spot, though briefly told, is of romantic interest, and has nearly a parallel in the rape of the Sabines. It is reported that certain men of Ardudwy made an incursion into the distant vale of Clwyd, in order to steal away certain fair ladies, inhabitants of that vale. Their errand was so far crowned with success, that they not only bore away their prize in triumph, but gained the hearts of the damsels also. The friends and neighbours of the stolen ones, regarding this

clandestine visit and conduct with dislike, resolved on a recapture, and, having gone in search of the fugitives, overtook them near the place under consideration. The knights of Ardudwy (if I may so term them) determined that arms should decide the question between their pursuers and themselves. An engagement accordingly ensued, during which the "ladies fair" retreated to one of the neighbouring heights, (still pointed out,) and, perceiving their new friends, of whom they had become enamoured, worsted, and eventually slain, they precipitated themselves into a lake that is at the foot of the hill, rather than return home.

The tradition has in it nothing to lead us to so much as a conjecture as to the age in which the event happened, if it ever did. For the present, it must rest amongst the obscure annals of the nation, to be resusci-

tated perhaps by a future Scott of Wales.

The lake is called *llyn y morwynion*, or the *lake of the maidens*, as it is said, from the above circumstance; and these graves are supposed to be the burial places of the adventurous but unfortunate men of Ardudwy. This is

the *popular* belief.

These places of interment are referred by some to the days of druidism, and to a period anterior to the Roman conquest of Wales. Their druidical identity however is very questionable. The fact that they are so conveniently placed on either side of the Roman road alone would, in my opinion, fix their date subsequently to the subjugation of this part by the Romans, and the establishment of the said line of road. Neither can I be induced to assent to the popular belief—it is too vague and indefinite. The position and features of these relics appear to me to identify them with Roman, rather than with British, remains. My humble opinion therefore is, that these graves are the places of interment of Roman soldiers.

T. W. HANCOCK.

Penbryn, Dolgellau.

THE BRITISH AND ROMAN ENCAMPMENTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

An Abstract from a Lecture delivered before the Members of the Philosophical and Antiquarian Society of Hereford. By James Davies, Solicitor.

The subject of ancient military encampments is one which irresistibly carries back our thoughts to the contemplation of times long since past, and to the review of actions and characters appertaining to individuals long since departed, but which are recorded in history for the instruction at least, if not for the admiration, of posterity, and must ever possess a peculiar interest for the antiquary and philosopher, especially when viewed from the very scenes which, silent and deserted as they now appear, have alternately resounded with the shouts of victory, or the lamentations of defeat. We are thus enabled to obtain a clearer and more actual perception of the events themselves, and the research to which such contemplations lead is in itself productive of reward, by tending to a further development of the history of bygone ages.

The camps in our own county (Hereford) are mostly ascribed to the period of the invasion of the Romans under Ostorius Scapula, who was appointed by Claudius to complete the conquest of Britain; and such as appear of British origin are attributed to Caractacus, better known among his countrymen as Caradoc ap Bran, the renowned leader of the Silures, the inhabitants of these parts, and it was here he made his last stand in

defence of the liberties of his country.

When Ostorius landed, he found affairs in great confusion, in consequence of the ceaseless endeavours made by the British to repel the Roman legions. To prevent further incursions, he first placed garrisons upon the Severn and Avon, and then proceeded to reduce the southern portions of the island to obedience. He next engaged with the Iceni, Cangi, and the Brigantes, in succession; but the Silures, relying chiefly on the courage of their leader, still offered the most determined resistance; and, although gradually driven into the more hilly districts of their country, continued, with unabated courage, the struggle for life and liberty.

The successive occupation of the Roman and British camps is, of course, in a great measure conjectural, but founded on these

two assumptions:-

Firstly—From the historical fact that Caractacus was driven by Ostorius in a north-westerly direction; and,

Secondly-From the relative position of the several British

and Roman camps with respect to each other.

The first station which attracts our notice is that of Doward, a British fortress, which I suppose to have been occupied by Caractacus, whilst Ostorius and his army were stationed on the adjacent eminences of Great Doward and Symond's Yat.

Camden, in his description of Herefordshire, says :-

"In the south limit of this county is Doward, a pretty high hill, on the top whereof, one would guess by the ditches, there had been an ancient fortification, and what makes it more probable is that, in digging there for iron ore and limestone, broad arrow heads have been found of late years; and not long ago the greatest part of the bones of a gigantic person were found here interred, in a place that seemed to be arched over. The length of all the parts were twice the length of others of this age."

These remains have been supposed to be those of a person of rank, who escaped from the battle of Ambresbury, in which Vortigern (king of Britain in the fifth century) was defeated, and who himself fled into Wales, and took up his abode in Dinas Emrys, in Caernarvonshire, where he built a fort.

From Doward Caractacus apparently steered his course to-

wards the Herefordshire Beacon.

The camps at Gaer Cop, Eaton, Caplar, (so called from Scapula,) Dineder, anciently called Oyster Hill, or Ostorius' Hill, and Aconbury, and other places, such as Caradoc in Sellack, are no doubt connected with this movement, Ostorius taking up his position in order to bring Caractacus to action upon passing the

river Wye.

Notwithstanding the close pursuit of Ostorius, the British leader seems to have succeeded in reaching the Beacon, the country around which offered natural impediments to the advance of the Roman legions. Here he established communications with the camps at Upperton, Netherton, Birdenbury, Thornbury and Risbury, forming a direct line, which began at Whitborne, a little north of the Malvern Hills, and crossed the country.

Ostorius seated himself on Wall Hills, near Ledbury, by which he could communicate with the road from the old Roman station Circutio, (Stretton Grandison,) and by which he could pass into

¹ In making excavations during the construction of the Gloucester and Hereford Canal, which crosses the parish of Stretton Grandison, several Roman remains were found, consisting of several pieces of pottery, a small weighing balance, resembling in form our common steelyard, and other curiosities, which are now in the custody of Mr. Philip Ballard, Widemarsh Street, Hereford, civil engineer to the Canal Company.

the Watling Street, at Wigmore, and the Ikenild Way, from Gloew (Gloucester). Upon part of this road he established a station, now unknown, called Black-caer-dun, from whence he could receive reinforcements.

We must now pause at the Herefordshire Beacon, and review

this work of ancient art.

This camp is one of the strongest and most considerable in the island. The labour employed in its construction, from its amazing belts and ramparts, and great extent, must have been incalculable. Its situation, as well on account of the view it commands as of its occupying the only pass through the Malvern Hills, its singular form, different from the modes adopted by the Romans, Saxons, or Danes, all tend to establish the opinion of its being of British origin, and if so, that it was not constructed for mere temporary purposes, but as one of those permanent securities which the British possessed, where the inhabitants of an entire district may have sought an asylum from the invasion of any foreign or domestic foe. The occupation of such a spot by Caractacus may well be a subject of admiration; for no eminence in this neighbourhood could have afforded a better retreat, or have been better guarded and protected from such powerful enemies as the Romans.

The Rev. Dr. Card, (late Vicar of Malvern,) in his Dissertation on the Herefordshire Beacon, expresses himself clearly of opinion that this encampment is of British workmanship, and one of the

forts of Caractacus. He says :-

"If it had been erected at any previous period, it could only have been for the purpose of defending the adjacent districts from the petty incursions of rival chieftains, or bandits, who were so often employed in mutually destroying and pillaging each other. It is, indeed, both an absurd and improbable conjecture that a fortification of such strength, capable of admitting an army of 20,000 men within its trenches, and the bastions of which contain an area sufficient for the stowage and pasturage of horses and cattle, and are of that construction that their firmness has not yielded to the effects of seventeen centuries, should have been erected for temporary purposes, when a handful of soldiers would have served to repel aggressions of this character. The remains, too, of a smaller camp, surrounded by a single ditch, and unquestionably of an earlier date than the great one of Caractacus, which are still visible about a mile and a-half from the latter, form a further illustration of my doctrine, and may be considered as the result of these intestine wars."

Caractacus appears to have been driven along the Malvern Hills to Whitborne, where there are the remains of a Roman and British camp, and thence to have pursued his course to Thornbury, Birdenbury, Netherton, Upperton and Risbury, whilst Ostorius took up a position probably at Berrington, northward

of the above mentioned encampments.

As will be perceived, Ostorius now appears to have changed his position, and kept his army north of Caractacus, doubtless for the purpose of preventing his retreat to the hilly districts of Shropshire and Radnorshire.

The next station of the British chieftain was Ivington,² whilst Ostorius encamped at Cholstry, (a corruption of the ancient name Caer Ostruy, *i. e.*, Ostorius' fort,³) and at Carne Hill, vulgarly

called Corner Cop, are remains of fosses and ramparts.

Here there appears to be an interruption in the direct line of

camps.

The Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, in a work entitled "Ariconensia," supposes that Caractacus encamped at Credenhill, whilst Ostorius threw up camps at Burghill and Eaton; from the former Caractacus removed again to Ivington, and afterwards to Croft Ambrey, whilst Ostorius still held him in check from another camp at Aymestry. The Roman general however still pressed close upon his retiring foe, until Caractacus found a temporary respite within the stronger fortifications of Wapley camp.

Here a difficulty arises as to the position taken up by Ostorius; but from the fact of there being a small square camp on Bradnor hill, contiguous to Wapley, though evidently westward of it, we may be allowed to conjecture that he occupied that station, his main object throughout being to prevent Caractacus from retreat-

ing to the mountainous districts.

The Rev. Jonathan Williams, in his "History of Leominster,"

thus speaks of Wapley camp:-

"The banks and ditches of it are five-fold, excepting on one side, where the steepness of the ascent is sufficient security; they are also

² Ivington camp is recorded as that in which Owain Glyndwr sought refuge after he had held the town of Leominster, from which he retreated before the army of Prince Henry, in which situation Henry endeavoured to attack him, but finding the works difficult to encounter, he stationed himself a distance off, where he awaited in expectation which afterwards followed—that the forces of Glyndwr would perish for want of provisions, and oblige him to abandon the fort.

³ Carne Hill is supposed to be the spot where the duke of Northumberland entrenched his army, in his endeavour to secure the throne for Lady Jane Grey. The inhabitants of Leominster, who were mostly in favour of the Princess Mary, procured assistance from Hereford, from forces then under the command of the earl of Arundel, and headed by Philip Hobby, Richard Walwyn, and Francis Throckmorton, made an attack upon the camp, where, after a severe struggle, the adherents of Lady Jane Grey were defeated.

very deep and high. In front of the entrenchment an artificial terrace is cut along the brow of the hill, the slope of which is finely covered with wood, and its northern extremity is washed by a small river, which forms one of the sources of the Lugg. Its form is elliptical. Whoever examines and compares this camp, with all its appendages, cannot fail to discover a striking correspondence with the description which Tacitus has given of the encampments of Caractacus, and to infer that this was one of those posts which that illustrious Silurian occupied, and thereby endeavoured to save his country from the rod of tyrants."

The object of the British chieftain during the pursuit of Ostorius being to avoid close action, his last place of refuge was admirably adapted to the purpose, being a cluster of strong positions near the junction of the Clun and the Teme, where there is a number of hills adjacent to each other, all of which being

fortified, he could retreat from height to height.

It is uncertain where the last engagement took place. Camden thought it was on a hill known as Caer Caradoc, three miles north of Coxwall Knoll. The Rev. J. Duncumb, in his "History of Herefordshire," agrees with General Roy, who, in his work on "Military Antiquities," expresses the same opinion. Coxwall Knoll, known also as Gaerdikes, is a large camp on the summit of a hill, accessible only in one direction, defended on the north side by very deep double trenches; on the east by the steepness of the ground; whilst on the south it has only one ditch. The west side, in which is placed the entrance, being fenced with double works. The side most accessible was further strengthened by a rampart of loose stones, and the bank of the river was lined with troops.

To animate their courage, Caractacus addressed his followers

in these words :-

"Remember, Britons, this day is to decide whether we shall be slaves or free! Recollect and imitate the achievements of our ancestors, whose valour expelled Julius Cæsar from our coasts, rescued their country from paying tribute to foreigners, and saved their wives and their daughters from infamy and violation."

With loud exclamations the Britons defied the attack of the enemy, and even Ostorius hesitated; but at length the signal was given, the river was passed, and the Romans, under showers of darts, mounted the hill, burst over the rampart, and drove the Silures from the summit. Two camps at Leintwardine and Brandon,⁵ mark the station of Ostorious previous to the last attack.

⁴ The reader should consult the paper on this subject by Mr. Ffoulkes, read at Dolgellau.—Edd. Arch. Camb.

⁵ Afterwards a Roman station, called Bravinium, as appears by the Itinerary of Antoninus. The wife and daughter of Caractacus fell into the hands of the victors, and two of his brothers were also taken, and the chieftain himself, after having retreated to Pen-Gwer-Wyn in Denbighshire, was basely betrayed by his step-mother Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, under whose protection he had hoped to elude the vigilance of his pursuers.

In tracing the progress of Caractacus under the pursuit of the Roman army, his choice of encampment must be admired by all who possess any feeling of respect towards this brave and noble leader. His retreats and manœuvres were well adapted to baffle the Roman forces, and his courage and valour did not forsake him.

His conduct before the Roman emperor fully convinced his conquerors of the loftiness of his mind, and his speech on that occasion has been a theme of admiration by all historians. The whole history must be so well known to all that it needs no further comment.

To commemorate the virtues of Caractacus, a society of gentlemen formerly met annually on Caer Caradoc, near Church Stretton in Salop, where they recited the praise of this British patriot, either in prose or verse. In the year 1757, Dr. Sneyd Davis, rector of Kingsland, in this county, composed some excellent verses, which were afterwards recited by some one of the company at their annual meeting. These verses, after extolling the conduct of Caractacus before the Roman emperor, conclude with these pathetic lines:—

"Brave Caradoc, applauded by thy foes,
What shall thy friends, thy grateful Britons say?
What columns and what altars rear of fame?
Thrice told five hundred courses of the sun,
Thy age is green, thy laurels freshly bloom;
Yet on thy well fought hill, whose stony brow
O'erlooks the subject plains, the generous youths
Gladsome repair, with annual flowers and song,
And festal music to record thy praise."

There are a few other camps in this county, independently of those which I have noticed, which do not seem to have been connected with the warfare between Caractacus and the Romans. Amongst these may be mentioned two at the end of the Black Mountains, near Trewyn House, one at Vowchurch, another at Walterstone, in which vestiges of a Roman tesselated pavement have been found, another above Mordiford, known as St. Ethelbert's camp, and the well known Sutton Walls, with some others.

These were probably temporary encampments thrown up in the time of some domestic skirmish, or small posts for the security of their cattle, or other purposes; or such of them as are bordering on Wales, as those near Trewyn House, and possibly that already alluded to on Bradnor Mountain, may have been connected with the contests between the British and the Welsh.

It is said that St. Ethelbert's camp was the resting-place of that personage on his way to the palace of Offa, king of Mercia, at Sutton Walls, where he was unsuspectingly murdered—

> "When to the unhallowed feast Of Mercian Offa he invited came, To treat of spousals."—Phillips' Cider.

There is little or no tradition connected with these encampments, and in the absence of any historical accounts of the cause and purpose of their erection, they must remain as the silent though striking monuments of past events. We may hope that, as the science of archæology advances, the day will soon dawn when new light will be cast upon these as upon other remains of antiquity, and that continued researches into these military relics will reveal to us the knowledge of circumstances which have hitherto lain concealed in the womb of ages.

A last point however remains to be noticed.

Upon these lofty heights and eminences to which we have soared, independently of their connexion with history and war, the lover of nature and the admirer of improvement can find scenes calculated to gratify the best feelings, and ennoble the mind. The poet and painter may here discover subjects for the pen and the pencil, as the antiquary seeks here a study which serves as a more agreeable relaxation to that of his closet, and amidst these romantic elevations can the man of meditative mind admire the varied beauties of nature and scenery; and, whilst he contemplates the events of former times, and reviews the valour and actions of his ancestors, silently recorded in the remains of these noble structures, he can at the same time congratulate himself that his lot has been cast in a brighter age, free from the turmoils of civil discord and invasion, and possessing the advantages of national security and domestic peace.

Here we close our observations, in the humble assurance that the importance of our subject justly entitles it to the regard not only of the antiquary, but of every student of history, who considers well the actions of those brave and noble minded commanders of olden times whose names are connected with the ancient bulwarks of our land, whose characters have ever been admired by every sincere historian, and whose memories, it is

hoped, will ever be endeared to every faithful patriot.

LETTERS FROM AND TO EDWARD LHWYD.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF W. W. E. WYNNE, ESQ.

(Continued from No. II., New Series.)



Scotchburgh, or Scotsboro' House, near Tenby (1850)

Scochburgh, near Tenby, in Pembroksh. Febr. 28, 169₈.

Dear Sr

I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jealous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies. We had taken as particular a survey as we could of our counties, & have had I think tolerable successe. In one letter I sent you copies of several Inscriptions to be communicated to Sr Ri Owen &c. to whom I also writ out of Monmouthshire, but know not whether he recd it. Ancient Welsh MSS. on velom are so scarce, that I have seen but four all last year. One

large folio in Glamorganshire we borrow'd and transcrib'd; containing amongst many other things Lhywarch hên's Poems, weh you formerly mention'd as ye oldest book seen at Hengwrt by Mr. Eub. Thelw. 'Tis certainly very ancient & valuable; but ye Glamorganshire copy conteind onely 7 odes, ye 1st complaining of his misfortunes, ye 2d of his old age, (where he has this Englyn

Ym petwar prif-gôs eir moet ¹ Yn gyvervydynt yn un oet : Pâs, a Heneint; Heint a Hoet.)

And ye death of his sons in battle, telling us where they lye buryed.

Bêd Pyll yn y rhiw velen; Bed Sawyl yn Llan Gollen; Gwercheidw Llamyr bulch Llowyen.

3^d Marwnad Urien Reget, whom he tells us was Prince of y^e Countreys of Rheged & y^e Bryneich or Bernicii, his cousin german &c. The 4th is an Exhortation to Maenwyn to defend his rights against his bordering enemies. The 5th Marwnad Gereint ap Erbyn: at whose birth he says the gates of Heaven were open: that he was Prince of Dyvneint which must be the Danmonii; and that Arthur sustein'd a great losse by this Hero's death who he says was slayn at Llongberth, w^{ch} Mr. Camden tels us (but on what Authority I am yet to learn) is London. The 6. is Cadwalhawn's Elegy: whom he makes a brave Prince: telling us he fought fourteen battles, and had 60 skirmishes

Pedeir prifgat ar dec, am brif dec Ynys Prydein; a thrugein kyvarvot.

Reckoning up his places of encampment he names most of our great Rivers of Wales, & several which I suppose are in England: As Keint Ydon, Kowyn, Tufyrd & Meirin. The 7. is a very elegant Marwnad on Cyndylan, Prince of Powys, & is as long almost as all the rest. If y° remaining fragments of his cotemporaries Taliesin & Myrdhin wylht be as considerable as these they well deserve publishing with a Latin Comment: but my hands are already fully employ'd.

We have discover'd many undescribed Zoophyts by dredging here, & in Glamorganshire: and several new sorts of figured fossils; amongst which ye enclosed figure of some flat fish represents one of the greatest rarities hitherto observ'd by ye curious in such enquiries. We found plenty of them (thô few fayr specimens) in a stone pit near Mr. Gr. Rice's (w^m you remember

at y° College) in Caermarthenshire. At Eisleb in Germany there are found figures of fish in y° Quarries, but very different from this & rather finer: for Dr. Rivinus of Leipzig, whose Epistle you find at y° end of Mr. Ray's Synopsis, sent me one of them. I have never heard of any more in Europe; but Dr. Huntingdon brought some to England from Mt Sinai. I am just goeing out with some friends & have onely time to give my humble respects to Mr. Robinson, St Robt Owen, Mr Richard Mostyn, &c. &c. &c. I shall impatiently expect to hear of your welfare; therefore pray write at your first leasure (according to y° directions at the date) to y' most affectionat Fr^d

whilst E. Lhwyd.

If I have any Subscriber in Denbighshire besides Mr. Edisbury,
I wish they would return ye money (according to ye Advertisement at ye end of ye Queries) to Mr. Williams of ye Museum in Oxford. I wish ye Queries be answer'd in yr parts as well as

they have been in one or two of these counties.

My hearty service to Mr Rich^d Roberts, Pedro, Dick Jones, our Wrexham friends, &c. &c. I sent Mr. Jones a copy of a large L^r from his Brother Hugo and another from him to his Father w^{ch} I enclos'd to y^c Parson of Dolgelleu. Ned Humfrey's Broth^r has it seems quite forgot me.

For ye Rev^d Mr. John Lloyd at Gwersylht near Wrexham in Denb

in Denbighsh N. Wales.

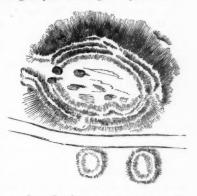
Mr. Jⁿ Lloyd's lre to Edw^d Lhwyd.

Ruthin, Dec. 29th, 93.

As you come f^m Bala towards Ruthin or Wrexham you shall meet with a Tumulus call'd Tomen Gastell near Llanfawr in Penllin; w^{ch} I have not seen of late and so I shall say no more to it. 3 miles further upon y^e top of a larg mountain call'd Cefn Corwuni—Crwuni,—or more comonly Creini by y^e neighbours, we meet wth a larg fortification above 300 paces in length & abt 80 in breadth; our paces meting more y^h a yard apiece, or thereabt. I mention'd this before, and Mr. Thelwal's conjecture y^t it was f^m one Corvinus a Roman, f^m w^m likewise Castle Dinas Brân might have its name. For y^e Brittains are observ'd to have alter'd names not onely f^m y^e sound but also f^m y^e sence of y^e Latine; as Ganlliw-Góch f^m Centauriũ, as if Centaurium had been derived f^m Centũ &c. I will add my Brother's conjecture, y^t y^e Mountain had its name f^m y^e Caer. viz. Cefn Caer Heini, or such a name wth Caer; for Cefn is comonly applied to any

such Mountain as yt is. But I believe ye truth of it, is, yt it lies as Dinas y Wig, Caer Ddynod, Pen y Gaerfawr and ye rest of our neighbour Fortifications upon ye Boundaries of Powys Fadog: Betwene Penllyn & Edernion. fm this bank we had a larg prospect of ye vale by Dee & Alwen side containing most of Edernion & some of Glyndowrdy. I thought it a pleasant Prospect, comprehending 6 Parishes, 3 of whyield ye value of £400 p. an. in Tythe; Corwen, Gwyddeler & Llandrillo & ye other 3, Llangar, Llan St. Ffraid, & Bettws, considered wth ye skirts of Llanfawr & Llangwn, we make up ye vale, are not so contemptible. And if ye watering of Rivers Springs & Rivulets wth varieties of hills & mountains terminating ye Prospect abe can recommend it, it may contend wth ye fairest Vallies. I am sure they live very plentifully in it. The I canot deny but most places of it have been improved by Liming & good husbandry since Camden's days, as much as any Countrey in England. But to return fm this digression to give you a draught of ye Caer.

The Entrance of ye North End is 8 paces over. ye Ditch looking toward ye Vale, & yt towards Bala but 2 paces & a half at most. The little circles at ye Entrance are so many rising 2 or 3 paces fm one another. The Deliquium in ye Ditch on ye one side is a steep Precipice, below weh lies a plowed field call'd Llwyn 'r Erir, whether f^m ye Roman Eagle you are The 2 middle to judg. stones are 2 larg stones,



one seems to be natural to ye place, having ye appearance of a Rock hard by it, & perhaps a rock itself, ye other seems to have been remov'd thither, both I daresay above 3 tuns in weight. The lesser gaps are occasion'd by rocks we I design'd to express by ye strokes in ye Ditch by it. Beyond ye Highway ye 2 Buarthydd lie, where they kept their Cattle. This is one of ye greatest Roads in our countrey. The Township next to it is

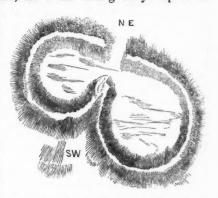
² Take it sano sensu: for ye next hill intercepted our sight of all yt pleasant & fruitfull ground on both sides of Dee f^m Llandderfel to Llangar. But f^m yt same Hill we saw it all: i. e., f^m Llandderfel to Llan St. Ffraid 7 miles in length on Dee side, & about 2 miles on Alwen's sides &c.

call'd Bettws y Coed, fm a Chappel yt was there in time of old: ye Ruins almost defac'd, but they call ye field Ffridd y Cappel still. Bettws is not from Beuno or ye like, nor fm Beadhouse &c. as we disputed before: but fm Locus Beatus, Chapel of Ease, or such little places, depending on some other Churches, as still they generally do. For to Beatifie was a lower degree of Canonizing. So Garnett was beatified whis Picture appear'd on ye Bloody-Straw, but not consecrated a St, as it were, in ye Highest Degree. This I owe to Mr Wyn of Caer y Dryidion, who pleaded for Gwyddfa's being a burying-place: for we comonly say dyma y Ngwyddfa for one's burying-place in Church. And Tir Gwydd fm its lying unplow'd. Sub judice lis est & esto per me. All Bettwees are dedicated to ye Virgin Mary, & ye Feasts or Wakes are kept upon Gwyl-fair-gyntaf in August. Not far fm hence near Plas issa where Ken Eyton lives. (who was with me this journey, as you shall hear f^m him) is Rhyd y Saeson, where a battle was fought, but I know not when. The English fought on one side of ye way & ye Welsh on ye other. yt field is called Bryn Arthur, & ye next behind it Maes y Llaes & not far off Llwyn Cadwgan or Caewgan. Some say Dyma lle doed ô hyd ir Saeson, as if they were pursued so You must take notice of places where ye Welsh have given signal overthrows to ye English, if you can conveniently, as upon Berwyn & by Glyn Keiriog &c. Abt 2 miles fm Cefn Creini lies Rûg, ye greatest Family in our Country, & in ye Garden thereof is a larg Tumulus, tho' now adorn'd for an ornamt but it was of ye same kind wth ye rest: for a mile forward on ye left hand there is another call'd Tomen Gastell, & Caer Drewyn on ye right hand, we seems to be the latest of ym all. The man yt was our guide, was 83 years old, whose father in law was able to move wn 100 years old, & died ætat-suæ 116 viz. Hugh ap Rees Mattin. At Llan St ffraid Dee turns to ye right hand & waters Glyndowrdy properly so call'd, where ye Ruins of Owen Glyndwr's house are very apparent. I took notice yt our Country people, upon any clamerous broils & scuffies, cry out, hi aeth yn Rhyfel Owen, as if yt had left ye deepest impression upon ym. And w^m they curse (as they have many most passionate phrases for it) they say, Croes neu Garnedd ar dy wyneb, a chroes gôch ar ei chrys gwyn, weh shews yt those are monumts of persons yt came to an evil end. And I hear of Maen Owen abt Llanrwst, we'n is a Red square Stone set on end, but I want authority to say any more of it. I told you before abt ye two Carchar y Dryidion in Cerrig y Dryidion, abt weh I refer you to Mr Wyn's letter yt is with Mr Aubrey for ye exactest Acct. I heard this night, yt at ye bottom of Carneddwen near Bala such another place was to

be seen but lately. My author (truely none of ye best) assur'd me yt they were 4 artificial stones but not above a yard long, wen mar'd ye matter. Tis one of ye most remarkable of our Carneddau, & if you think it material I shall enquire further.

W' is written above I compass'd last night in my studie, and this draught of Castell yr Hudwydd or Tomen Rhydwydd you shall have f^m y^e original, for I am writing on y^e top of it.

Castell Roderick, says my Guide, a conceited fellow; & there is a field hard by call'd Acre 'r Rhydwydh. The Township is call'd Bodigre 'r Yarll; 2 Earls, says my Guide, liv'd there; one Rhaglaria & Presbeturia ye other, quoting Grandfather for it, wch is allways suspicious. The great ditch around ve highest mount is 16 or 17 yards fm ye Bot-



tom to ye top & as steep as earth and rubbish can stand; ye Area is 20 yards Diameter & round. At ye East end is ye entrance of 6 or 7 yards bredth & abt as many arising steps. On ye East End betwene ye 2. Area, ye upper tomen falls 12 yard to the lower Area wen contains abt 50 yards diameter. The S.W. entrance I can make nothing of, being not discontinued in ye outwork of ye Ditch, & yet open on ye inside in a ditch-wise with some little rising bank cross ye Ditch. All ye rubbish of ye lower Area's ditch is thrown up to ye inside weh makes ye lower Area's ditch as steep and high as ye other. Hard by it he shew'd me Gwaen 'r Ymryson, & Mynydd Deuwydd, wch is the boundary betwene Yale and Dyffrin Clwyd. The other end of it, abt a mile further, is call'd Moel y Crogwydd, perhaps Crigwydd, & yt there are some Tumuli on ye top of it, weh you shall know in my next. Abt a quarter of a mile further I call'd at Cwrt 'r Abbat, viz. of Valla Crucis, as ye fellow call'd it, situated in Bodigre 'r Abbat; twas a Quaker's house who shew'd me yr Hen dre boeth, where nothing in ye world was to be seen beside ye name, lying exactly upon ye foremention'd Road fm Bala to Wrexham. Llyn Rhug a brook in ye Bottom was ye middle of it, as he sa wth reservation, before; Pysugard was one end and Pen y Groes ye other & both a quarter of a mile fm ye field call'd y Dre boeth.

He shew'd me also Carreg y dre newydd, near Llandegla y' now is. This is y' fruit of my travell for 2 days, wch I have written in a confusion, like y' rubbish treated of, & if y' be not decorum, I am sure y' laws of familiarity & freedome will acquit

yr fr

JOHN LLOYD.

For Mr. Edward Lloyd, at ye Musæum Ashmolianû in Oxford.

Correspondence.

ST. CADVAN, ARTHUR, CAERFILI.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Gentlemen,—Having for many months past devoted the whole of my leisure hours to the study of ancient Kymric literature, I have been somewhat inattentive to passing events, and have, I am sorry to say, left many valuable papers in the Archæologia unread; but having recently given it more attention, the perusal of the articles of your numerous able contributors has afforded me much pleasure and instruction. In future I trust we shall not be so strange to each other; and if you deem the following notes on the Stone of Cadvan, King Arthur, and Caerfili Castle, to

be worthy of publication, they are at your service.

Having for the illustration of a line in the "Gododin" referred to the excellent papers of Mr. Westwood and the Rev. J. Williams on the Stone of Cadvan, I found much reason to thank the former for his industry and ingenuity, and the latter for his learning and philological skill; but was compelled to differ from the interpretation there given of the inscription. I do so however with much diffidence and reluctance, being a mere novice in antiquities, while they are distinguished veterans; and it will give me much pleasure to learn their opinions of my version, so that I may be confirmed in my intended application of the monument, or abandon my error if found to have gone astray. Mr. Williams reads the side c as a continuation of A, and D in continuation of B; and is, I think, right in so doing. His reading is as follows:—

A + CYNGEN CELEN

C ARTERUNC DUBUT MARCIAU.

B + TEN GRUG CIMAL TED GUADGAN MARTH
D MOLT CLODE TUAR TRICET NITANAM.

Which he interprets thus:-

"CYNGEN CELAIN AR TU RHWNG DUBUT MARCIAU."

"The body of Cyngen is on the side where the marks will be."

"TAN GRUG CYVAL TEDD GADVAN MARTH MOLL CLOD Y DDAEAR TRIGED NID ANAV."

"Beneath a similar mound (or in the retreat beneath the mound, in reading Cinmael for Cyval) is extended Cadvan, sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth. May he rest without blemish."

The Kymric interpretation of A c appears to me quite correct; but not so the English version. With respect to B D, I differ from him very widely. Gibson and Pennant agree in filling up the first blank with D, though in Jones' "History of Wales" it looks more like an I; but as tedd occurs in Cyn-tedd and Annedd, with a meaning not inappropriate here, we may assume TED to be correct. Add to these eis-tedd; but it is probable that, though the dd was not then in existence, the d was not really intended to have the dd sound. An intelligent friend, who is a native of Wigtonshire, and whom I sometimes call a Novantian Briton, informs me that the word ted is still used in southern Scotland, to express extension, display, and prostration, in such phrases as "ted the claes on the hedge," "do not ted the books about the house," and "gather the sheaves, they are all ted about the field." The word tidy is probably derived from this root. For Marth there is no sufficient data; the fragment of a letter appears to me to be the fore part of an A, such as is found several times on this very stone; nor does there appear sufficient reason for reading the A immediately after the M, instead of placing it last of all. I should read the letters thus:-

M an

but unless it be MAN A, I cannot afford even a conjecture as to what the word really was; MOLT appears to be an abbreviated MOLET, a conjecture seemingly warranted by the crowded state of the letters, rather than MOLL; CLODE, is CLOD E; and NITANAM, I should read NID A NAM.

The inscriptions should be read in a different order, beginning with B instead of A; and as it may be laid down as a rule that ancient monuments are more laconic than loquacious, we may almost invariably conclude that a terse version will approach nearest to the truth. I read the letters thus:—

+ TEN GRUG CYMAL TED GUADGAN MAN MOLT CLOD E TUAR

TRIGET NITANAM.

In modern Kymraeg thus:-

TAN GRUG CYNFAEL TED GYADFAN (MAN A?) MOLED (ei) GLOD E DAEAR TRIGED NID A NAM.

And in English I should read the whole inscription thus:-

B BENEATH THE MOUND OF CYNVAEL LIES (OF IS STRETCHED) CYADFAN WHERE (?)

D THE EARTH EXTOLS HIS PRAISE. LET HIM REST (OF HE RESTS) WITHOUT A BLEMISH.

A THE BODY OF CYNGEN (also?)

C AND BETWEEN (THEM) WILL BE MARCIAW (or marks).

If your readers will consult the map of ancient Wales made by the late Dr. Owen Pughe, they will find that CASTELL CYNFAEL stood near Towyn. If there be a mound there, let it be searched, and I doubt not the bones of two persons will be found, while the Stone of Cadfan will become a still more interesting relic than it now is. Who is Marciau? Most probably the same person as the Marco of the "Gododin;" but who is he? Mr. Williams can probably answer the question better than I can.

The words "Arterunc dubut Marciau," admits also of a trans-

lation resembling that of Mr. Williams, viz .-

"And between (Cadvan and Cyngen) there (are or) will be marks."

And the fact that there are but two crosses, renders this a more warrantable version than the preceding. It is not however without its difficulties. The word marc, though its Kymric parentage may on consideration be admitted, is not of frequent occurrence, and may be said to want the warrant of bardic sanction. But this is not all. Mr. Williams has acutely remarked that the ancient plural termination is eu, and not au; and it is somewhat unfortunate, in my view, that the lines brought forward as an early authority for a supposed exceptional practice, should be taken from "Cadair Ceridwen," a poem which I had previously said to be comparatively modern. (Literature of the Kymry, p. 28.) Nevertheless there are exceptional instances to be found, i. e., if we admit the Myv. text of the "Gododin" to be early; and some of them here follow:—

"Rac ergit cadfannau catwyt."-Myv.

In the MS. of the Rev. T. Price, however, this word ends in an. The other instances are,—

"Gwrawl amddyvrwys gorvawr y lu
Guryt vron gurvan gwanan arvau
Y gynneddyf disgynnu rac naw rhiallu
Ygguyd gwaed a gulat a gordiynau."—Myv.,i., p. 12.

An argument in favour of the conclusion that both Cadvan and

Cyngen are buried in the mound of Cynvael, near Towyn, or at least that Cadvan is so, may also be drawn from the lines of Llywelyn Vardd:—

"Gwynn y uyd a uyt o nothaed Men y tric gwledic gwlad ednywed."

Which may be thus translated :-

"Blessed is his fate who will be of the protected, Where dwells the ruler of the land of reanimation."

Of whom is "gwledic gwlad ednywed" here predicated, Cadvan, or the Saviour of mankind? In answering the question we must be careful not to project our own theology into the past, or we cannot suppose that Cadvan would be designated, to use Mr. Williams' translation, "sovereign of the region of reanimation." On the other hand, the localization of the object spoken of is opposed to the other conception. It is easy to conceive that in the twelfth century, when the saints were so much revered, and their intercession at the throne of grace implored, this language might be used, and be in harmony with the theology of the age; and, therefore, we may admit the import of the passage to be in favour of the opinion that Cadvan lies buried at Cynvael, near Towyn. I use this phrase, in the belief that Cynvael is not identical with Towyn-a belief which I have been led to form from the objectivity implied in the expression "ten grug Cimal;" but of its correctness I am unable to form any opinion, as mine is only map knowledge of that country. This conclusion is therefore another argument in favour of the opinions advocated in the preceding remarks; and it is but fair to admit that I owe this argument to Mr. Williams' article.

An incidental illustration of the same view is afforded in the

following passage from an ancient writer:-

"The Britons raised mounds of earth on certain bodies of the saints which had been reverently entombed, that they might not be exposed to the profanations of the infidel (Saxons)."—Wendover's Flowers of History, vol. i., p. 52. Bohn's edition.

This in itself is not conclusive; but as an element in a cumulative argument it merits attention. Hiding the bones of saints was a

common practice.

There is however a grave obstacle in the way of this conclusion. Professor Rees has given an adverse opinion; and the author of the "Welsh Saints" is one of those critical and accurate men whose conclusions can seldom be disputed with safety. His words are:—

"There were some years ago, in the churchyard of Tywyn, two rude pillars, one of which, of the form of a wedge, about seven feet high, and having a cross and inscription upon it, went by the name of St. Cadfan's Stone, and was thought to have been a part of his tomb. Engravings of the inscription, as copied at two several periods in the last century, (by Lhuyd before 1709, and by Dr. Taylor in 1761,) are given in Gough's 'Camden,' from which it appears that the letters resembled those used by the Anglo-Saxons, but the only word legible was the name of Cadfan. As there is a tradition that the saint was buried in Bardsey, which an obscure passage from the poem just quoted would seem to confirm, it may be judged that the stone was merely a rude cross, of which similar specimens, bearing the names of sainted persons, may be found in other parts of the Principality."—Welsh Saints, p. 215.

This tradition, when unsupported, can have but little value, as it is easy to show a double reason for its formation, independent of the supposed fact recorded; and the argument based upon the following passage

"Kyn noe dreghi—ydoet
Yn cadw rac kyhoet anlloet enlli,"

Llywelyn Vardd. Myv., i., 362.

rests upon a misconception. The meaning of the bard is clear enough, and only became obscure when that acute critic supposed it to mean that which it evidently does not; and in an English dress might be safely represented thus:—

"Before his death, he was Protecting from the public the riches of Enlli."

This passage is very clearly explained by the fact that Cadvan "is known more especially as the first abbot of a monastery, founded by him in conjunction with Eineon Frenhin, in the isle of Bardsey (Ynys Enlli), off the western promontory of Caernarvonshire."—Welsh Saints, p. 214. The poet here speaks of his life, not of his death—of Cadvan the living abbot, not of the buried saint. In other passages, such as these,—

"Vnllogawd yssyt herwyt heli Lleudad a chaduan yny chedwi."—Myv., vol. i., p. 362.

"One church there is beyond the sea Lleuddad and Cadvan keeping it."

"Deu gefynderw oetynt Caduan y gadw llan ef a lleudad."—*Ibid.*, p. 361.

"Two cousins they were, Cadvan keeping a church, he and Lleuddad."

The bard uses the same expression in the same sense, as appears from the history of the latter:—

"Lleuddad ab Alan, a member of the college of Illtyd, after the death of Cadvan, was appointed abbot of the monastery of Bardsey,

in consideration of which dignity he was also styled a bishop. Next to his predecessor, he has been esteemed the guardian saint of the island; and there are poems extant (Myv., i., p. 360, and Cambrian Register, vol. iii.), in praise of the protection which he afforded to pilgrims on their passage to the sacred cemetry."—Welsh Saints, p. 221.

There is therefore no solid foundation for the belief that Cadvan was buried in Bardsey; and the fact that there is no reason to believe that he was buried anywhere else, affords another argument in favour of the conclusion that he was buried at or

near Towyn.

What object was there in saying that there were marks between Cyngen and Cadvan? Were they buried in haste, and the Welsh inscription intended for concealment? Was there any intention, at some (then) future period, to take up their remains?

Mr. Westwood assigns the stone a high antiquity. He will be glad to learn the following confirmation of his opinion. In the Myv. text of the "Gododin," p. 6, occurs this line:—

"Noe ac Eseye carreg vawr y chyhadvan Ni mwy ysgogit vit vab Teithan."

And at the foot there is a various reading from the MS. of Paul Panton, Esq.:—

"Noc ac escyc carec vyr vawr y chahydfan Nid mwy gysgogit uit mab peithan."

In Probert's ludicrous translation, the first is thus rendered :-

"Noe and Eseye by the great rock of Cyhadvan Did not stir more than the son of Teithan;"

but instead thereof I offer the following:-

"Than moves the great stone of Cyadvan No more moved Wid the son of Peithan."

If I am right in referring this line to the Stone of Cadfan, that monument may be as old as the beginning of the seventh century, but is certainly not later than the first half thereof. Is there any propriety in the epithet "short" occurring in MS. P. P., in the line "carec vyr vawr y chahydfan," which literally translated would be, "the short, great stone of Cahydfan," in reference to this ancient stone?

In conclusion, let me add an instance wherein Cynfael and Cadvan seem to be connected. Cynddelw, in his ode to Howel the son of Gwynedd, has these lines:—

"Gal ysgwn ysgwyd agkyvan Garw esgar yn ysgor gaduan."—Myv., i., 261,

"The foe with uplifted shield unentire,

He furiously scattered at the rampart of Cadvan."

Dr. Pughe sub voce "ysgwn," translates the two last words, "the field of Cadvan;" but though that version supports my views, ysgor will scarcely admit of such a rendering. These lines may at first sight appear to admit of a different explanation. We are told in the Ystradfflur Chronicle:—

"A.D. 1149.—Cadwaladr (the brother of Owen Gwynedd) built the castle of Llan Rhystyd (Ceredigion), and gave it with the lands which he possessed in that country in charge to his son Cadwgan."—

Myv., ii., 426.

And soon afterwards we find that,-

"Howel ab Owen captured his nephew Cadvan the son of Cadwaladr, and took from him his castle and his lands."—Myv., ii., 427.

From this it appears that it is Cadvan ab Cadwaladr, and not the saint to whom the reference is made; but there are strong reasons for doubting the correctness of such a conclusion. Another document, Brut y Saeson, after stating that Cadwaladr had built this castle in 1148, and given it to his son Cadwgan, states that,—

"A.D. 1149.—Howel ab Owen captured Cadwaladr his cousin, and took from him his lands and his castle."—Myv., ii., 564.

We have no other reasons for believing that Cadwaladr had any sons so named; and from the following account of the affair in *Brut y Tywysogion*, it will appear probable that in both cases the name should be Cadwgan. In this Chronicle there is no notice of these persons in 1149; but we are told that,—

A.D. 1148.—The castle of Llan Rhystyd was built by Cadwaladr ab Gruffydd, and he gave the castell with lands to it, to his son Cadwgan. And the latter did not do what was right in his country; and therefore his men went to Howel ab Owen, and desiring him to become their leader, said they would give the property of Cadwaladr to him. And so it was."—Myv., ii., 563.

After that we need scarcely state that the absence of any war-like action in these accounts is also at variance with the language of the bard. May we not therefore conclude that the passage receives its best exposition from the following fact?—

"A.D. 1146.—The property of Cadwaladr was ravaged by his nephews Howel and Cynan, the sons of Owen Gwynedd. They came against the castle of Cynfael, (which according to both the Strata Florida MS., Myv., ii., 426, and Brut y Saeson, p. 563, was in Merioneth). This was held for Cadwaladr by Merfyn abbot of the White House on Tav, who defended it resolutely; and preferring death to treachery, refused to sell the castle, or deliver it up for reward. On that account they undermined it, and pulled it down, and slew all the men that were in it except Merfyn, whom they released,

he being a foster son of the church; but they ravaged the lands of all who opposed them, and returned with much spoil."—Myv., ii., 562.

This was a great event, and was the most important siege in which Howel was engaged. Cynddelw devotes a special verse to its celebration in the early part of the ode:—

"Tumultuous as the wave was the torqued prince, Heavy it was to hear Cynvael's towers fall, Forked flames were crackling,

And there was vehemence, and weapons in the hand."

"Twrwf tonn torchawc hael trwm oet y glywet

Twr kynuael yn kwytaw A flameu odrum yn edrinaw

Ac angert ac ongyr yn llaw."—Myv. i., 259.

The bard in summing up probably used the term "ysgor Cadvan," in order to prevent the repetition of Cynvael.

Some time since, I read with much interest a paper read by T. Wakeman, Esq., of the Graig at Caerleon, in which a very ingenious explanation was given of the name Riothimus, viz., Rhi Wrthevyr. In the same paper was a sweeping remark, to the effect that Arthur was a fabulous character; but as I am firmly convinced that in the whole range of early history there is not one character more historically real, I could not permit such an opinion from an intelligent antiquary to remain unchallenged. If we strip the Arthur of romance of the idea of absolute sovereignty which with our modern notions we persist in giving him, we shall find a warrior, elected by many kings as independent as himself, to be their common leader in war. He was in fact a British Gwledig, (Anglice, Bret-Walda,) elected in emergency to be the leader, dominator, or emperor of all the kings of Britain; but in his own absolute right was only king of a small principality. Such in fact were all the British kings, from Owen ab Maxen Wledig to Cadwaladr, who was nominally king of the whole country from Cumberland to Cornwall; but in his own right only king of Gwynedd. The reality of Arthur is proved from the poems of the bards; the following was probably written about 519 or 530, when Geraint ab Erbin, prince of Devon, was slain in fighting against the Welsh Saxons:—

"Yn Llongborth llâs i Arthur Gwyr dewr cymmynynt a dur; Ammherawdyr llywiawdyr llavur." Translation.

"At Llongborth were slain to Arthur Emperor and conductor of the toil (of war) Valiant men; they hewed with steel."

Llywarch Hen's Elegies, p. 9.

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The battle of Llongborth I take to be the conflict of Charford on

the Avon, near Fordingbridge (Hampshire).

In the poem attributed to Taliesin, called Gorchan Maelderw, the antiquity of which I see no reason to doubt, occurs the following line:—

"Y ar orthur maur mur onuyd."-P. 61.

"Arthur the Great, the tower of spears."

And in a various reading, at p. 84, it occurs in this form :-

"Y ar orthur teith teth a thedyt Menit e osgord mawr mur onwyd."

And again, in a fragment which must have originally formed part of the "Gododin" of Aneurin, another warrior is compared to Arthur:—

"Ef Arthur rug ciuin uerthi ig difur Ig Kynnor guernor guaur."—Myv., i., p. 87.

From these facts, the conclusion appears to me irresistible in favour of Arthur's personality.

Mr. Clark, in the historical part of his very able and interesting paper on Caerphilly Castle, has fallen into several errors, in consequence of having followed Wynne, and confounded the Senghenydd Castle of Gower with that of eastern Glamorgan. Their respective histories run thus:—

SENGHENYDD (MORGANWG).

The first notice is the following:-

"A.D. 831.—The Saxons of the Marches came at night unawares, and burnt the monastery of Senghenydd, which was then where the castle is now, and from thence they came to the castle of Treoda, (Gwaun Treoda, Cardiff,) which they burnt also. From thence they escaped across the Severn sea with a great quantity of spoil; and at that time there was a covenant between the men of Gwent and Glamorgan, and the Saxons of the Marches."—Myv. Arch., ii., p. 477.

"1089.—After the defeat of Iestyn ab Gwrgant, his land was divided among the Norman conquerors and the native chieftains. According to Caradoc, Einion ab Collwyn had the lordships of Miskin and Senghenydd; but Sir Edward Mansel of Margam states, with greater appearance of truth, that Senghenydd was given to Cadivor ab Cedrych ab Gwaithvoed. It was probably Cadivor who built the first castle of Senghenydd, and probably on the site of Castell Coch."

1094.—The Normans under the earls of Arundel and Gloucester, with Arnold Harcourt, Nigel le Viscompte, and other earls, with the partizans of Robert Fitzhamon, came against the men of Gwent:—

"From Chepstow's tower at dawn of morn, Was heard afar the bugle horn; And forth in banded pomp and pride, Stout Clare and fiery Neville ride."

The Kymry fled before them to the mountains of Brecknock, and then turned upon them. The Normans were defeated at the battle of Gelligaer; and retreating thence were intercepted by Griffith and Cydifor (the sons of Llewelyn Brenn) of Senghenydd, and nearly annihilated:—

"The sun arose,
And Rymney's wave with crimson glows;
For Clare's red banner floating wide,
Roll'd down the stream to Severn's tide!

"The trampled green
Showed where hot Neville's charge had been;
In every sable hoof-tramp stood,
A Norman horseman's curdling blood!"

(Llywelyn Brenn, who lived in 1316, could not have been the father of Griffith and Cadivor. Another MS. calls them Griffith and Ivor, the sons of Idnerth ab Cadwgan.)

1145.—Ivor ab Cadivor, sometimes by mistake called the son of Meuric, took William the son of Robert earl of Gloucester prisoner in Cardiff Castle.

1174.—Griffith, the brother—says one MS. of Ivor Bach, but the son more probably, went to Gloucester with the lord Rhys of South Wales to make peace with Henry II.

1179.—Morgan ab Griffith ab Ivor Bach was assassinated at Gloucester.

This is, I believe, the last occasion when the Glamorgan Castle of Senghenydd is mentioned in history. The above Griffith was probably the person beseiged in Castell Coch by De Clare; and the Red Castle was probably the Morganwg Castle of Senghenydd.

SENGHENYDD (GOWER).

"A.D. 1215.—Rhys Ieuanc took the castles of Kedweli and Carnwyllawn (in Caermarthenshire), and from thence drew towards Gower, first taking the castle of Llychwr. From thence he went and fought against the castle of Hu (Hugh de Myles of Talybont), which he took. Next morning he ment to Sein Henyd, from which the garrison withdrew in fear, and burned the town. Thence he went to Ystumllwynarth, which he also took. And at the end of three days he had subjugated all the castles of Gower."—Myv. ii., p. 448.

1216.—Reynold de Bruce (of Brecon), contrary to the engagement entered into between him and his father-in-law Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, had been induced by Henry III. to forsake that alliance; for which act of treason Llywelyn took Brecon Castle, and Rhys Ieuanc took the castle of Builth. From thence Llywelyn went towards Gower,

and at *Llangiwc* was overtaken by the now penitent Reynold de Bruce, to whom the prince gave the castle of Sein Henyd, which Rhys Gryg was to keep for him."—*Myv.*, ii., p. 542.

In order to understand who these Rhyses were, I subjoin the

following table:-

The Lord Rhys of South Wales had sons

Griffith, (eldest,) and Rhys Gryg.
Rhys Ieuanc was Griffith's son.

1217.—Henry III. made peace with Lewis king of France, with which the Kymry were displeased. In consequence William Marshall, the king's guardian, took Caerleon Castle. On hearing of this declaration of war, "Rhys Gryg took the castle of Sein Henyd, and all the castles of Gover, and drove all the Saxons from that country, and placed Kymry in their place."—Myv., ii., p. 452.

"1221.—John de Bruce, Reynold's successor, repaired the castle of Sein Henyd, with the advice and consent of Prince Llewelyn."—

Myv., ii., p. 454.

"1255.—Llywelyn ab Griffith, prince of North Wales, Meredith ab Rhys, his brother Rhys Vychan, and Meredith ab Owen, lords of South Wales, came to Rhos (in Pembrokeshire), and ravaged the whole country except Haverfordwest. From thence they came to Glamorgan, (i. e., Gower,) and after taking Llan Geneu Castle returned home."—Myv., ii., p. 460.

Llangennydd in Gower, the modern form of the old Sein Henyd, is always written Llangenei in the "Liber Landavensis." From this examination it must now be apparent that the two

castles have hitherto been confounded.

This confusion of the Senghenydds has led Mr. Clark to suppose that the castle of Caerphilly came to the earls of Clare through the De Braoses; but he is here in error, as the Braoses never, that I can see, had any connexion with the eastern Senghenydd. Caerfili came through marriage with the daughter of Fitzhamon to Robert duke of Gloucester, the natural son of King Henry I.; from Robert to his son William; and from William to the De Clares. This appears from one of the publications of the Record Commission; but I cannot now lay my hand on the passage.

I am happy to find such excellent confirmation as Mr. Clark's discoveries afford of a conjecture of mine, in the "Essay on the History and Etymology of Caerphilly Castle," to which Lord Bute's Prize was awarded at Abergavenny in 1848,—that Caer-

philly Castle had no existence prior to 1270.

There are some documents in the British Museum which none of our writers on Caerfili appear to have consulted. They are

thus noticed by Sir Henry Ellis, in the first series of his "Historical Letters:"—

"(In the Cotton MSS.) there is a French letter of Hugh le Despenser as early as 1319, giving orders for the defence of his castles; and several occur in the same language, relating to the affairs of Edward the Third."—Vol. i., p. xx.

I have written to inform Mr. Clark of their existence; and it is possible that they may in some future Number form an interest-

ing supplement to his article on Caerfili.

In the same volume of Ellis' "Letters" occurs a most interest ing and unique letter from one "R. Gruffithe to my Lorde Legatis moost noble grace" Cardinal Wolsey, relating to an immigration into Pembrokeshire of twenty thousand of "Irysshe Raskells," in 1523. There is no other account of this important event; and, as Ellis' work is not to be seen every day, I should be glad to see the letter, with the Editor's notes, transferred to your pages.

THOS. STEPHENS.

Merthyr Tydfil.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Gentlemen,—The armorial bearings of which I have made an Ordinary, are derived from the "Elizabethan MSS.," &c., referred to at pages 353 and 437 of the Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. i., first series. Their record in this shape may serve for

future reference, and may induce others to add to it.

Proof of any one having been known at an earlier date would be interesting. I have referred to such proof in a few cases. I have not observed a Welsh bearing of earlier date than 1330, and as the lions on the 1195 seal of Richard I. are the earliest undoubted hereditary bearing in England, it is not probable that heraldry was known in Wales ante 1200–1250, if so early.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of the ravens alluded to in vol. i., 318, but they cannot be considered to have been heraldic until the chevron between three is found, and I would suggest that the words, arms, and armorial bearings, there stated to be met with in the Triads, are themselves evidence of the age of those chronicles. The seal of Iorwerth ap Madoc, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, (Arch. Jour., vol. vi.,) shows no pretension to arms, the cross is similar to that on a grave-stone.—Arch. Jour., iv., 49.

I give the names of those who are said (in the Elizabethan MSS.) to have been the original bearers, many of whom were different generations of the same family, and from whom most of the

Welsh families now bearing arms claim descent; so that, in fact, there are but few such families of distinct origin, and arms are thus confined to but a few; whereas, in England, all classes of gentry inherit their own distinct bearing, though often derived from those of their leader or lord, but with a well marked difference. The different branches of these Welsh families having adopted different hereditary names, causes a difficulty in at once identifying arms on memorials. Many of these supposed original bearers lived at a time when such bearings could not have been known; and, granting the correctness of Welsh pedigrees, it is most probable that particular branches of their descendants adopted these arms at various dates, and that zealous chroniclers of a later date assigned them to too early a generation; thus some assign their inherited arms to Marchudd, who lived in the ninth century! others to his descendant, Grono y Penwyn, time Edward I.—the latter probably do so correctly.1

The names in parenthesis are those of families who claim the arms or descent; and the marks (1), &c., are placed against those of the same origin, who would have borne the same name if such had been hereditary; according to the pedigrees published in Burke, from which it would appear that, by maternal descent,

almost all families in Wales are related.

It would not be much trouble to your correspondents to examine the churches in their neighbourhood, and thus add to my list all arms found, of a date prior to 1700, with the colours, if possible; if they know not the date, a tracing of the shape of shield should be forwarded.

A. C

¹ So, in England, the arms attributed to the Saxon kings are altogether apocryphal; and devices of the twelfth century, that might be heraldrically described, were probably not so intended at the time, but merely as ornament; thus the Fitzwilliam seal of 1117, Richard of Chester, 1140, G. de Magneville, at the Temple Church, 1144; see (and compare the dates) Fairholt's Costume, p. 87, 53, 54, 442, 149.—Arch. Jour., ii., 285; v., 8. Henry I. is said to have given Geoffrey Plantagenet a shield ornamented with golden lions in 1127, (Planché). The latter's shield 1149, (see Old England,) has the same ornament as that of G. de M., but also four or eight lions rampant, that of his son H. II., (of Wm. I., II., H. I. and Stephen), has no Richard I. has, in 1189, two lions combatant. On the helmet of the latter, and of his grandfather, is a lion (not a crest); a similar allusion may be seen in Fairholt, p. 149, and Arch. Jour., vol. ii., p. 383, before and after the introduction of heraldry, about 1120, 1280. If arms had been hereditary, those on the shield of Geo. de P. would have become of England, as has been observed by Mr. Hallam.

Annulet.

Gul. 1 or, between 3 lures arg.-John Newport of Shropshire, whose heiress married Richard Hilton, about or before 1300. (See Cross and Lion Rampant.)

Bars.

Arg. 2 sab. (some 3) .- Brereton,

Or, 2 gul.—Sully, known in 1341, see vol. ii., 18.
Az. 2 arg. (some 3, 4,) on a bend gul. 3 arrows arg.—Done of Utkinton. Gul. 2 ermine, on a canton sab. a fer de moulin, arg .- Panton of Bagilt.

Gul. 2 arg. in fesse point a \$\Phi\$ vel \$\Phi\$ or.-Foxhole, heiress married Henry Rosindale, about 1300.

Barry.

Arg. and az.-Grey, on seal of 1301, with a label. (See Caerlaveroch.)

Battle-Axe.

Sab. 1 between 3 fleur de lis arg. — (7.) Sir Howel y Fwyall, he descended from Collwyn ap Tangno (see Chevron), was knighted at Poictiers 1356, and had probably the axe granted as a difference. "His sovereign conferred on him a mess of meat to be served before his poleaxe." (See Burke's Landed Gentry, under Nanney, Wynne of Gwynfryn, or History of Gwydyr family.)

(-) 3 in fesse (-) - (Taken in with a lion rampant, supposed Vaughan of Llannerch, at Henllan, Denbigh, 1601, sculpture.) Query, Hall of

Yorkshire?

Bees.

Arg. 6 sab. 3, 2, 1.—Trahern of Emlyn (Caxton Jones, l. 1637, Harl. MS., 1971.) (At Henllan, Denbigh, 1697, supposed for Marmaduke Lloyd of Trenewydd, Whittington, with Goodman. See vol. i., p. 351, n.) (Wynne of Garthmeilio, Denbigh.) (John ap Ievan Lloyd, of Tan y fyrt, in Nantglyn, Denbigh, 1619.)

Arg. 1 sab.—Dutton. (see Quarterly.)

Az. 1 between 6 covered cups or .- Butler.

Arg. on 1 between 2 fleur de lis sab. 3 standing cup with (-) arg.-Rigston. Arg. on 1 sab. 3 leopards' faces arg.-Gwerydd ap Rhys Goch (lived at

Henllys, Anglesea), (with a leopard's face crest, on seal, 1743, names on deeds, Rob. Foulkes, Lumley Williams.)

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 horse shoes arg. - Ferrers, (quartered by Rosindale, probably brought in with Biskham).

Arg. on 1 vert, 3 wolves' heads arg.—Pothan Vlaidd (8.) (Myddelton Brass,
Denbigh. See Chevron. On application of Sir Hugh, the bend was altered to a pile by Clarencieux (Camden) 1622. Crest, out of a ducal coronet or, a dexter hand proper. Gent. Mag., 1792, p. 784.)

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 mullets arg.-Puleston

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 pheons arg. -Adan of Gwent.

Sab. on 1 arg. cottised ermine, 3 roses gul.—Conway. (A seal, 1736, John Conway, a rose between 2 annulets, a crescent in sinister chief, base of shield and crest imperfect.)

Gul. on 1 arg. a lion pass. sab.—Kynvrick Evell, (living 1200). (1.) (Davies of Gwysanney, of Marington of Eton House, Eyton of Leeswood, Wynne of Tower, Parry of Plas Newydd, Williams of Arddynwent, Wynne of Heartsheath, Broughton of Wrexham, Roberts of Nerquis, Lewis of Hendrebiffa.)

(-) on 1 or, 3 lions pass. sab. quartering 2 choughs.-Myddelton Brass.

(Query, Myddelton?)

Bezants.

3 in chief .- Vol. ii., 276.

10, on a chief a lion pass .- (Itton Court, Chepstow. Query, Bridgman or Money ?)

Vert, 5 in saltire or .- Myvod.

Birds.

Or, 3 surgerant, bordure vert.—Sir Rhys Hên, Caernarvonshire.

Eagles.

P. pale, ermine and sab. 1 displayed with 2 heads or, on a canton az. a martlett or, crest, out of a crown, an eagle as in arms, ermine. - Gawen Goodman, given 20th Nov. 1573, by Rob. Cooke, Clarencieux.

Arg. 1 displayed with 2 heads sab.—Meuric Lloyd. (Llwyd of Llyn y maen?) Same—quartering arg. 1 man, 3 ragged sticks gul. on an escutcheon of pretence arg. a man's leg sab.-Cilmin Droetdu. (Sir Thomas Wynn of Glynn?)

Az. 1 displayed or .- Philip ap Ivor, l. about 1300, (11.)

Vert, 3 displayed in fesse or .- Owen Gwynedd, died 1169. (2.) (Wynn of Gwydyr, of Wynnstay, of Llwyu, of Berthddu, Lloyd of Rhiwaedog, Maurice of Clennenneu, Brynker of Brynker, Anwyl of Park.)

Arg. on 3 lozenges in fesse vert, bordure gul. 3 displayed or.—Einion ap Caradoc of Penychen, 4th from O. G. (2.)

Arg. 3 legs erased meeting in fesse point sab. Owain ap Ievan ap Madog. Falcons.

Or, I surgerant az. beak or.-Carwed of Llwydiarth.

Ravens.

Arg. 1 proper.—Corbet.
Gul. 1 proper, in a garb arg.—Watkin ap John Hír. . . . (Laugor, Brecknock ?)

Arg. 1 head erased proper, quartering barry of 6 arg. and az.—Bowld. Arg. 3 heads erased proper, neck gul.—Rhiryd Voel, 11th century. (Blodwell of Shropshire?)

Sheldrake.

Gul. 1 arg.-Langford.

Seagulls.

Barry wavy arg. and az. in fesse 3 (-). Yswittan Wyddel.

Az. 3 arg.-David Llwch.

Cocks.

Arg. 3 gul. cres. and watt. or .- Einion Sais. (Query, son of Bleddyn? See Wolf.)

Boars.

Arg. 1 passant, head gul.-Meuric Goch of Dyved.

Arg. 1 sab.—Brytaen.

Az. 1 chained to a tree arg.—Llwch Llawen Vawr.—(All proper, crest of Lloyd of Bronwydd.)

Sab. 1 passant between 6 fleur-de-lis arg.-Meredydd Gam of Dyved.

Gul. 3 heads erased arg.—Y Penwyn, living 1283.—(3.) (Wyane of Melai, of Garthewin, Foulkes of Eriviat, Lloyd of Brynestyn, Prices of Maentrog, Vaughan of Plasneuadd, Llanfair; John Lloyd of Plas Newydd, Denbigh, and Hays, Oswestry, d. 1732, he is called *cousin* by the supposed daughter of M. L.—See *Bees.*)

Arg. 3 heads couped sab.—Cadwgan, l. 1000.—(4.) (See Lion R. R., Elystan Glodrudd.)

Az. 3 heads arg. - Jonas ap Grono.

Az. 3 between 9 cross crosslets arg.—Sir Matthew ap Caradoc.

Bow and Arrow.

Az. 1 partly downwards, arg.-Madog Hyddgaru.

Bulls.

Arg. 1 passant sab.—Meredydd Bwl.

On a bend engrailed 3 heads, crest out of crown a head .- Heaton (also seal, 1741.) See Stags. (Supposed from Lancashire, and followers of H. de Lacy. The arms of Heton, in Gregson's Lancashire, p. 258, are vert a lion R. arg.

Checky.

Or and gul., saltire ermine, (sometimes saltire countercompony, arg. and sab., also gobinated ermine and ermines,) Checky arg. and gu., saltire ermine.—Peek, Peke, or Peake, one of the English families in Lleweny in 1334, and supposed to have been followers of H. de Lacy, to whom the Lordship of Denbigh was granted in 1284. . . . Some

were in Conway time Henry VIII. They probably derived their name from the Lancashire part of the Peak.1 (See vol. iv., 69.)

Chevronells.

Gul. 3 arg.—Iestin ap Gwrgant, living 1090. (Known in 1330. Vol. ii., 18.2)

Gul. 1 between 3 lions R. or.—Hwfa ap Cynddelw, 1150. (5.) (Ellis of Bodychau, Owen of Porkington. of Orielton, of Bodean.)

Arg. 1 between 3 bulls' heads sab.—Llewelyn ap Bledri.

Sab, 1 between 3 bulls' heads arg.—Bulkeley.

Az. 1 between 3 dolphins arg.—Trahaern Goch of Llyn.

Gul. 1 between 3 Englishmen's heads proper.—Ednyfed Vychan, living 1250. (3.) (Morgan of Golden Grove, Williams of Cochwillan, of Meillionydd, Lumley Williams, Bulkeley Williams, the Lord Keeper W., of Vaenol, Owen of Penmynydd, Sir William Griffith of Penrhryn, Hughes of Prestatyn, Lloyds of Nant, of Gydros, of Plymog, John Griffith of Llanbedr y Trennau, Lewis of Glanrafon.) (Chevron ermine on seal of Lumley Williams, 1736.)

Gul. 1 between 3 mullets or .- Rotpert, 1370. (3.)

Sab. 1 between 3 mullets arg .- Rhys ap Rotpert. (3.) (Lloyds of Kymmel. Bishop of Chester, 1604.)

Sab. 1 between 3 goats' heads or.—Ithel Velyn of Yale, l. 1000. (Madoc ap Bleddyn, l. 1440, of Leeswood.)

Arg. 1 between 3 crescents gul.—See Bars, quartered by Brereton.

Gul. 1 between 3 roses arg.—Einion ap Geraint. Gul. 1 between 3 torteaux arg.—Mader Gloddaith.

Gul. 1 between 3 stags' heads, arg.—Iarddur. (Query, Jones of Ystrad, Caermarthen?)

1 In Glover's Ordinary, (ante 1588,) Peke of Yorkshire.-3 cross crosslets on a chevron, which was also borne afterwards by Pecke in Derby, and Sergeant Peck of Norfolk, time Charles II., and in 1655, by John Peck, at Scole, and which with three lions added became the arms of Peake of Lincolnshire, &c., known in the 1562 Visitation. In Glover, gyronny of 4 or and gu. 1 or 4 griffins' heads, to Peke (possibly of Stafford), where the name is now common, and was existing ante 1350, as well as in Hereford, York and Deubighshires. 1186, Bolden Book, Durham, is the earliest date of name, but as The Peak was spelled Pech-e, ante 1200, Peche had probably the same origin, and the Yorkshire arms might have been founded on those of Peche of Warwick, 1250. A pedigree and arms of Peake of Kent, up to about 1450, is recorded in 1619 Visitation. Arg. a saltire gul., is given in Berry's Ency. Suppl., to the name, and may have been borne in Devon, where the name is now common, and whence it has been of standing in the navy since James I.; but to whom, and to a family in Bedfordshire, are ascribed in a MS. of that reign, the Deubigh arms, with a variation; but there is no record of the two latter families.

2 Nisbett states that the seal of David I. (1125-35) had a crest. On fourteen seals of the barons of England, in 1301, the owners are represented on horseback, three only have a crest on the helmet, only one of whom was not connected with the blood royal, the others terminating in a plume, or perfectly plain. On the seals of others are several examples of animals over and on the sides of the shields of their arms, from which we may suppose that the modern custom of using crests is thus derived, and not from crests worn on helmets in the field; the helmet of H. de Bohun is without one, but on the reverse and over the shield is a swan, which became the family crest, as did the boar on the top of the shield of Hugh de Vere. (Archæologia, vol. xxi. See also Archæological Journal, ii., 285; iii., 75, 153.)
The ornament not having been afterwards always used as a crest strengthens this supposition. A wyvern on helmet of Roger de Quincy, (1216-64,) on the reverse appears under the horse's feet. (See Winchester Vol. Archæological Institute.) Perhaps the earliest undoubted crests on seals are those of Scrope and Creting. (Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, and Caerlaverock, 1347 and 1348.) In 1347 there was a commission to judge debates "d'armes et heaulmes," (Caerlaverock, 336); and Lord Campbell (Lives of Chancellors) states that this crest of Scrope was disputed in that year.

 Az. 1 between 3 cocks arg.—Meuric, king of Dyved.
 Arg. 1 between 3 boars' heads sab.—Ednowain Bendew, l. 1015. (1.) (Hanmer of Caervallwch, Griffith of Pant y Llonydre, Lloyd of Wygfair, Davies of Denbigh, Jones of Sandford.)

Arg. 1 between 3 boars' heads gul.—Cowryd. (Jones of Hartsheath and Cefn Coch.)

Same.—Iddon ap Rice Sais. (6.) (Davies of Doddleston, of Middleton, Edwardes of Kilhendrie, of Shrewsbury, Vaughans of Burlton, of Shrewsbury.

Or. 1 between 3 boars' heads gul.—Trahaiarn of Rhôs. Az. 1 between 3 spears' heads arg.—Howel Coetmore. (Field sab. Watkins of Pennoyre, Brecknock; also on a canton by Powel of Nanteos. See Cross flory.)

Arg. 1 between 3 choughs ermine in bills sab.—Llywarch ap Bran, 12th century. (Hughes of Plas Coch, William Griffith ap Jenkin.)

Or. 1 between 3 choughs (-)-Knowsley.

Sab. 1 between 3 fleur-de-lis arg.—Collwyn ap Tangro, 12th century. (7.) (Wynne, Lord Newborough, of Gwynfryn, Vaughan, Lord Lisburne, Evans of Tan y Bwlch, Sir M. Caradoc, Ellis of Bronbwll, Prytherch of Tregaian, Vaughan of Aberkain, Bodwrdar of Bodwrda.)

Arg. 1 between 3 owls az.—Hookes, Denbigh.

Sab. 1 between 3 owls arg.—Griffith ap Jenkin. Arg. 1 between 3 moles sab.—Twistleton, Denbigh?

Vert 1 between 3 wolves' heads arg. - Rhirid Vlaidd. (8.) (Myddelton Brass, 2nd quarter; 1st see Bend, P. Vlaidd; 3rd see Bend, Myddelton;

Wynne of Hazlewood, Sligo, the chevron ermine.)
Gal. 1 between 2 fleur-de-lis, a lion in base or.—Rhys ap Meredith of Tywyn. Gul. 1 between 2 love-knots, a lion rampant in base or.—Sir Jamys ap Owain.

Az. 1 or. between 3 horses' heads arg.—Rhys ap Marchan. Arg. 1 az. between 3 nags' heads sab.—Meirion Goch of Llyn. (Sir William Jones of Castellmarch?)

Gul. 1 arg. between 3 sea-birds sab, bellies arg.-Here.

Sab. I or. between 3 roses arg. - Dewi Fabsant?

Arg. 1 gul. between 3 pheons sab.—Cadwgan of Bachan (quartered by Watkins

of Pennoyre.) Arg. 1 sab. between 3 ravens.—Llywarch Rhirid ap Urien. (9.) (Known in 1424, vol. ii., 248.) (Rice, Lord Dynevor, Bowen of Lechdwyny, Rees Kilymaenllwyd.)

Az. 1 or. between 3 cocks arg.—Jenkin ap David. (Pengwern, Flint?)
Az. 1 or. between 3 garbes or.—Hatton.

Sab. on 1, between 3 ragged sticks or, a fleur-de-lis az., between 2 choughs proper.—Cadafael Ynfyd, l. 1200. (9.) (Meyrick?) Query, granted to Einion Sais, the descendant, time Henry V. Arg. on 1 between 3 cocks' heads sab., a rose between 2 mullets arg.—Llewelyn

ap Madoc ap Einion.

Sab. on 1 between 2 handed cups arg. 3 martlets sab.—Whyte.

Sab. on 1 between 3 swans' heads out of d. coronet prop., 3 pellets sab .-Troughton of Bodlew.

Arg. on 1 gul. 3 fleur-de-lis or.—Madoc ap Hendwr.

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 angels kneeling or.—Maeloc Crwn. (Chaloner.)

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 mullets arg.—Tegwared y Bais wen, (natural son of Llewelyn the Great.)

Gul. 1 or, chief ermine.—Sir Grifflth Lloyd, l. 1284. (3.) (Sir Ievan Llwyd, Davies of Caerhen, T. D., Bishop of St. Asaph, 1561.)

Ermine, 1 or, on a chief arg. a lion pas. gul.—Cadivor ap Selyf.

Gul. 1 or, charged with 3 trefoils vert, between 3 boars' heads arg. (Some 1 arg. 3 sab. and gul.)-Thelwall, (see Fesse.)

Arg. 3 sab. and arg. alternate, between 3 drakes, backs sab., bellies arg.-

Ynys Enlli yn Llyn. Arg. 1 p. pale gul. and or, between 3 falcons sab., heads arg.—Modoc Goch o Voruddwy. (Treveiler?) P. pale arg. and gul. on 1 arg. between 3 oak branches, a rose between two pinks.—Llanthony Priory, vol. i., 237.

Chief.

Arg. on 1 gul. 3 trefoils slipped proper.—Bonville.

Crescent.

1 (-) between 3 escalops (-)—Dacres.

Cross.

(Ermine?) 1 bottomée (sab?) Query, Norris of Penllyne.—(Itton Court, Chepstow.)

Arg. on 1 sab. a leopard's face or .- Bridges.

Arg. on 1 sab. 5 crescents or, dexter canton a spear's head gul.—Griffith ap Elidyr.

Arg. 1 moline, between 4 lozenges arg.—Mael Melienydd.

Arg. 1 flory engrailed sab. between 4 choughs, on a chief az., a boar's head arg.—Idnerth Benvras, l. 1100. (2.) (Griffiths of Brongain, of Caerbyn, Lloyd of Llanarmon, Humphreys of Llwyn, Davenport of Bramall, Owen of Woodhouse, Owen of Condover, of Llunllo, of Tedmore.) (See Lion R.)

Arg. 1 flory engrailed sab. hetween 4 choughs.—Edwin ap Grono. (2.) (Tudor ap Ithel Vychan, Powell of Nanteos.)

Or 1, and 3 roebucks' heads or, in bend.—Roydon.

Or, 1 patée gul. on a canton sab. a cinquefoil or.—De Brierley, heiress married
John Newport, before or about 1300. (See Annulet and Quarterly.)
Arg. 1 huniette coupe, quarterly arg. and gul.—Howel arf Finiog.

Az. 1 flory or.—Einion ap Llywarch. (Query, son of Llowarch ap Bran; Chevron.)

Vert 1 flory or .- Braint Hir.

Arg. 1 flory sab. flowers or .- Newton.

Az. 1 pattee fitchee or .- Kadwalader Vendigaid, last king.

Gul. 3 cross crosslets fitchee or, on a chief engrailed or, an escalop sab.—
Arderne. (Quartered by Rosindale as Whitacres, probably brought
in with the latter, not identified.)

Crowns.

Az. 3 open in pale or .- Severus of Cadivor, 10th century.

Fesse.

Or, 1 between 3 covered cups, 3 choughs. Query, Butler de Pen Rawyer.

(Itton Court, Chepstow.)

Gul. 1 between 3 drakes argent.—Phillip ap Rhys. Az. 1 or, between 3 horses arg.—Rice ap Marchan.

Gul. 1 arg. between 3 boars' heads arg. tusked or.—Thelwall of Bathafarn.

Fish.

Az. 3 heads meeting in fesse point arg.—Twnkyn of Shocklidge.

Fox.

Arg. 2 countersalient in saltire gul.—Cadrod Hard, l. 920. (10.) (Williams of Wynnstay, of Bodelwyddan.)

Fleur-de-lis.

Sab. 3 arg. hordure gul.—Tegwared ap Rotpert.

Gul. 6 arg. 3, 2, 1.—Ireland.

Arg. on a fesse gul. 3 bezants, in chief 2 (or etoils?) gul.—Biskham, quartered by Rosindale.

Arg. on a fesse gul. between 3 sab. a fret or.—Iorwerth Voel ap Ieva Sais, (Mechain, Montgomery?)

Garbes.

Or, on a fesse az. 3 or.-Vernon.

Az. a chevron or, between 3 or.—Hatton.

Gauntlets.

Sab. 3 dexter arg.—Gunter.

Goats.

Az. 3 salient arg. dexter base, rising sun or.—Merioneth County, vol. ii., 123.
Sab. 1 arg. armed or.—Celynin, 13th century. (Lloyd of Dolobran, Davis of Elmley.)

Sab. 1, head arg. armed or.—Trahaiarn ap Einion. Greyhounds.

Arg. 3 couchant sab.—Iorwerth Sais. (Hanyny, Denbighshire?) Arg. 3 sab. collared arg.—Arglwydd y Bryn. (Bryn of Shropshire?)

Sab. 3 arg.-Gwion Benarw.

Griffin.

Gul. 1 surgerant or.—Llawdder. Or, 1 surgerant gul.—Griffith Goch of Rhôs, 1. 1400.)3.) (Conway of Nant of Bryneurin, Llwyds of Diserth, Pugh of Cefn y Gartheg, Lloyd of Dol yn Eideirnion.)

Arg. 1 surgerant vert.—Elffin ap Gwyddno.

Arg. 1 surgerant sab.—Llewelyn ap Ivor ap Bledri. (12.) (Gwent?) (Morgan of Tredegar.)

(-) 1 surgerant (-)—Query, Morgan. (Itton Court, Chepstow.)

Helmet.

Sab. 1 between 3 pheons arg.-Dolben.

Horses' Heads.

Sab. 3 nags arg.—Brochwel Ysgythroc, l. 620. (Lord Blayney, Davies of Llivior.) (Lloyd of Powis?)

Arg. 1 gul. bridled arg.-Grono Goch.

Ladders.

Gul. 3 arg.—Cadivor ap Dinawel. (2.) (Owen of Cefn Havod, of Glansevern, of Llanddulas, Lloyd of Millfield, of Foes y bleddied, of Pound Devon, of Llanllyr, of Maes y Felin.) (Castle Howel?)

Leopard's Face.

Gul. in mouth an arrow proper, flighted or.—Crest, Peake; from being unlike the arms, and full-faced, probably granted in this reign, though recorded as then inherited.

Lions.

Or, 1 rampant purpure.-H. de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; as borne at Caerlaverock in 1300.

Or, 1 rampant az.—Cadwgan of Nannau. (1.) (Nanney of Nannau, Lloyd of Cwm Vychan, Rev. Ino and Angharad L., Vaughan of Wengraig, of Rug, of Dol y melynllyn, Oliver Cromwell, Jones of Trewythen. The Bishop of St. Asaph, 1268, whose nephew's (Meuric Vychan) effigy in Dolgellau Church has on his shield a lion unheraldic, placed as if rampant, but by itself is a rude lion passant guardant.)

Or, 1 rampant gul. crowned or.—Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, (1.)
Arg. 1 sab.—Madoc ap Meredith, d. 1160. (1.) (Kynaston (from Meredith),
Rhys of Rôg, Maesmore, Powys, Lord Gifford, Lloyds of Crogen,
Maurice of Bryn y Gwalie, Barons of Pale yn Edeirnion, Wynne of Plas Issa, Branas, Foulks of Cilain, of Pentre Morgan, Owen of Plas Issa, Vaughan of Duddlestone, Lloyd of Edrnal, Hughs of Gwerclas.)

-Madoc ap Ievan. (2.) Descendant of Idnerth Benvras, and quartered with his. See Cross.

Same.-Idio Wylt, ante 1100. (Lloyd of Glansevin, Lloyd Williams of Gwernant.)

Same.-Lodlow.

Arg. 1 gul.—Ieuarn Gadarn.

Arg. 1 az. a bordure gul.-Klare, also Clare.

Arg. 1 gul. ?-Query, Morgan ap Meredith. See Bezants, Cross, Fesse, Griffins, Unicorns; does this sculpture refer to a descendant of Phillip ap Morgan of Langston, and Gwenllian Norris of Penline, impaling Bridgman or Money?

Arg. 1 rampant gul. 8 mullets gul. (some sab.) 3, 2, 3.—Hilton of Lancashire, known in 1441, (vol. i., 348,) heiress married Peake, about 1300. The descendants of the head of this family, Hulton of Hulton, bear this lion without the mullets. The lion was sometimes crowned.

Arg. 1 rampant or, and broom slips .- Sandde Hardd. (10.) (Powell of Horsley, Ievan Iorwerth of Llanywilyn.)

Ermine 1 rampant sab.—Cynfrig ap Rhiwallon, killed in 1073. (6.) (Edwardes Lord Kensington, Eyton, Sonlley of S., Judge Jeffreys, Roberts of Hafod y Bwch. Jones of Llwynon, Davies of Denbigh.)

Ermine 1 rampant sac.—Elidyr ap Rhys Sais, I. 1050. (6.) (Eyton of Eyton, Denbighshire, Sutton of Sutton, Lewis of Galthorpe. Deckas of

Knyton.)

Ermine 1 rampant sab. bordure gul. semé of mullets arg.-Madoc Danwr. Az. 1 rampant arg. on canton arg. a pheon (. .)—Iorwerth Sais Marchog.
Az. 1 rampant arg.—Cadwgun of Ystrud Flur. Cadwgan ap Grono. Cadrod Calchfynydd. Baron Coedmore. (Owen of Penmynydd?)

Az. 1 rampant ermine.—Gerard.

Az. 1 rampant or, armed &c. gul.-Morgeneu of Dyffryn Clwyd, Evnydd ap Morien.

Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or .- Howel ap Ieva.

Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or. bordure engrailed or .- (Garnett, 1730, of of Nantwich, to Peake of Denbigh.)

Gul. 1 rampant arg. bordure or, semé of annulets sab.-Madoc ap Maenyrch. Gul. 1 rampant arg.—Marchweithian. (Wynne of Voelas, Price of Foxley, of Rhiwlas, Ellis, Plas Yolyn (-) of Berain.)

Gul. 1 rampant arg. between 3 rows arg.—Gwrgunon.

Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or, between 3 crescents or.—Salusbury. Sab. 1 rampant arg.—Maithiard. (Yadur, Glamorgan?)

Sab. 1 rampant arg. bordure engrailed or .- Griffith ap David Goch, l. 1284, (Lloyd of Esclusham, Gethin of Tedwdeg.)

Vert, 1 rampant arg. head, feet, and tail gul. - Gwaith Voed, l. 921. (1.)

Az. 1 rampant, p. fesse or and arg. bordure arg. semé of annulets sab.—Caradoc Vreichvras. (Mainerch of Brecknock, Price of Brecon Priory, Byam.)

Gul. between 3 cross crosslets fitchée or, 1 arg. charged with 3 bars sab.—Valle
 Crucis Abbey, known time Henry VIII., vol. iv. 24.

 P. bend sinister ermine and ermines, 1 or. Tudor Trevor, married 907. (6.)

(Mostyn, Pennant, Edwardes of Chirk, Dymock, Davis of Denbigh, Trevor, Lloyd of Leaton Knolls, of Penley, Wynne of Eyarth.

Same, bordure gul.-Madoc Llwyd, l. 1350. (6.)

Paly of 8, gul. and arg. 1 sab.—Griffith Maelor, (1.) a son of Madoc ap Meredith. See ante. (Owain Glyndwr.)

P. fesse sab. and arg. 1 countercharged.—Einion Evell, l. 1191. (1.) (Meredith of Abertanat, Roberts of Llangedwin, Kyffin of Bodfach, of Glascoed, of Maenau, Tanat of Abertanat, of Blodwell, Wynne of Plas newydd yn Bodlith, of Plas yn Moeliwrch, Vaughan of Golden Grove, Vaughan Lord Carbery, Edwards of Ness Strange, Lloyds of Aston.)

P. pale az and gul. 3. arg.—Herbert. (Jones of Llanarth, Evans of Hill Court, Vaughan of Court Field.)

P. pale gul and or, a Φ arg. between 2 endorsed countercharged.—Ithel Anwyl. Gul. on a fesse dancette arg. between 6 or, 3 rooks proper.—Sir Rhys ap Gruffred, d. 1196. (Sir Morgan ap Meredith of Tredegar. Abermalis, Caermarthenshire?) See vol. iii., p. 337.

Quarterly, arg. and sab. 4 countercharged.—Cynvraig Sais.

Lion Rampant Guardant.

Az. semee fleur-de-lis, 1 arg.-Holland.

Arg. 1 gul.-Sir Anon, (Glantywi, Glamorgan?)

Lion Rampant Reguardant.

Gul. 1 or.-Elystan Glodrudd, father of Cadwgan. (4.) L. 970, (Blayney of Esham, Lord Cadogan, Pryce, Morice, Lloyd of Ferney, Morris of York, Evans, Lord Carbery.)

Or, 1 sab .- Gwaithvoed Vawr. (11.) D. 1057. (Pryse of Gogerddan.) The effigy of Griffith, 4 generations after Gwaithvoed, is said to be in Towyn Church; query, any sign of arms?

Lion Passant.

Arg. 1 gul.—Clare alias Clarke, (heiress married Peake about 1400.)

Arg. 1 sab.—Jenkin Llwyd. (Pwll du che?) Same, fore feet fettered or.—Madoc ap Adda Moel.

Arg. 1 gul. between 3 fleur-de-lis sab.-Gwyddno Garan Hîr. (Vaughan of Caethle, of Penmaen Dovey, Pryce of Gunley.) Gul. 1 arg.—Howel ap Iorwerth o Von. (5.)

Gul. 2 arg .- Strange.

Gul. 3 arg.—Gryffydd ap Cynan. (2.) D. 1136, father of Owen Gwynedd. See Eagles.

Az. 1 arg.—Ithel Vychan. (Northope?)
Sab. 3 (-)—Hwyfa ap Iorwerth, (heiress eventually to Puleston, thence to

Quarterly gul. and arg. 4 countercharged.—Meredydd ap Cynan. Lion Passant Guardant.

Ermine, tail between legs gul.-Ednyfed ap Cynvrig ap Rhiwallon. (6.) L. 1073. (Broughton of B., Powell of Alrhay, Ellis of Alhray.)

Arg. 1 sab.—Cadivor Vawr. (12.) (Lewis of St. Pierre; rampant?)

Arg. 2 az.—Hanmer.

Quarterly gul. and or, 4 countercharged.-Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, slain in 1282.

Or, 3 lions' heads erased gul. bordure engrailed az.-Allo ap Rhiwallon.

Lozenges.

3, 2, 1.-Vol. ii., 276.

3 ermine, a bordure engrailed sab .- Pigot, Denbigh; said to have been followers of H. de Lacy.

Mullets.

Paly of 8 arg. and az. on a fesse gul, 3 arg. Matthias Wyon. (Wogan of Pembroke?)

Man.

Gul. a Saracen's head arg. wreathed or and sab.-Marchudd, d. 847. (3.) (Wynne of Bettws, of Llanelian, Hughes, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1573, Wynne of Dyffryn Aled, Lloyd of Forest, of Pontriffith, hence Lord Mostyn, Wynn of Treforth, of Coed Coch, of Kilgwyn, Pugh of Crenthin, Morris of Bryn yr Odin.) (Heir of Richard Wynne, 1351, n., is now of Coed Coch.)

P. fesse gul. and arg. 3 Egyptian's heads counterchanged .- Ashpool.

Paly

Of 6 arg. and sab.-Mada Ddu ap David. (2.) (Griffiths of Pengwern, of Garn, Lloyds of Treflownyd.)

Of 8 gul. and or, semeé torteaux sab. bordure or.—Yngar of Yâl. (10.) L. 1165. (Lloyds of Bodidris, of Hopedale, of Gloster.)

Pheon.

(-) a garbe? (-) between 3 (-)—Totenhall. Heiress married Richard Peake, about 1400, thence to Rosindale. (Vol. i., 347.)

(-) 1 (-) 3 estoils in chief (-) crest a boar's head.—Seal of 1735, query, whose? "Lumley Williams" on deed.

Quarterly.

Sab. and arg.-Coel ap Meuric.

Ermine and ermines, a fesse arg.—Gwalchmai ap Gwyar. Arg. and gul. 2 and 3 a fret arg. Dutton.

Or and gul. a bend sab. bordure az .- De Pontefract, heiress married Robert Hilton of Lancashire, about or before 1300, father of Richard. See Cross, Annulet.

Roses.

Sab. 3 arg.-Cunedda Wledic, (sab. 3 gul. quartered by Watkins of Pennoyre.)

Arg. 1 gul.—Howel Arglwydd Rhôs.

Saddles.

Arg. 3 sab. stirrups or.—Enion ap Gwalchmai. (Trevcilir?) Saltire.

Arg. 1 sab.-Aeddan of Gwent.

Ermine, on 1 gul. crescent or.-Osborn Wydel (l. 1250,) (Wynne of Glyn, of

Peniarth, Vaughan of Cors y Gedol, Yale, Rogers, Fitzgerald.) Query, any sign of arms? ante 1350,3

Snakes.

Sab. 3 children's heads couped at shoulders proper, snakes round their necks az.—Moreddig Warwyn. Vaughan, Talgarth?) Gul. 3 nowed arg.—Ednowain ap Bradwen. (3.) (Owen of Peniarth, Lewis

of Abernant, Vaughan of Nannau.)

Spears' Heads.

Sab. 3 point down arg. imbrued gul.—Cynvraig Sais. (Inglefield?) Arg. 3 erect sab. imbrued gul .- Nevydd Hardd.

Sab. 3 javelins point up (-)-Padarn Peisrudd.

Stage.
Vert, 1 passant arg. attired or.—Llywarch Howlbwrch. (Trygarn?)

Sab. 1 standing arg.—Hedd Molwynog. (Lloyd of Pale.)

Arg. 1 standing at gaze, gul.—Gryffydd Gwyr.

Vert, 1 passant regardant arg.—Cynvraig Vychan.

Az. 1 arg. armed and a crown between horns or .- Owain Gethin. (Lewis of Gilfach, Prytherch of Abergele.)

3 bucks trippant 2 and 1, in chief a mullet, buck reguardant crest.—Seal 1678, query, whose ! names on deed, Mostyn of Caldecot, and Peake.

2 does countersalient.—Dryhurst, (Myddelton Brass.)

1 passant reguardant, bush in mouth .- See vol. iv. 66. Vert, 3 stag's heads in bend, in canton a rose or .- Rodri.

Arg. on a bend engrailed sab. 3 bucks' heads arg.—Heaton (see Bulls.) In Harl. MSS., 1971, p. 67, 72, is a letter from John Heaton to Holmes, about his cousin Jane Chambre's, the coat of her father, &c.

Arg. on a bend az. 3 stags' heads or .- Stanley.

Quarterly, or and az. 4 roebucks passant countercharged.—Rosindale, (known in 1441. See vol. i., 348.) William Harvey gave Humphrey Lloyd the antiquary (properly Rosindale) a bordure gul. for difference, and a lion passant, crest.

Swords.

Sab. 1 in pale point downward, scabbard and belt arg. on sinister side, a Catherine wheel arg.—Garat Groch.

Talbot.

Az. 1 passant between 3 oval buckles or .- Caster of Kinmel.

Torteaux.

Arg. 3 gul. between 2 bendets sab .- Quartered by Gerard. See Lion Rampant. Query, whose?

Towers.

Gul. 3 triple turreted arg.—Howell Caerleon.

Unicorn.

(Arg. ?) 1 (sab.)-Norris of Penline, query? (Itton Court, Chepstow, sculpture on Tower of.)

Wheel.

Arg. 1 or, vert between spokes.-Lles ap Coel.

Wolf.

Az. 1 rampant arg.—Henry Dwnn. (Lloyd of Bronwydd.)

Vert, 1 passant, pierced with arrow point out of his mouth arg. Bleddyn ap

Maenyrch, l. 1000. (Powell of Castle Madoc.)
Or (-) az. 1 passant arg.—(8.) Blaidd Rhydd, 12th century. Vert, a chevron ermine between 3, argent. Ririd Flaidd, of Pe llyn, 12th century. (Vaughan of Glanllyn. Wynne of Hazlewood, Sligo.)

3 Osborn Wyddel emigrated from Ireland about the middle of the 13th century therefore the earlier instances of the armorial bearings of this house must be looked for in the heraldry of that country. Osborn was a scion of the great sept, "the Nation of the Geraldines."

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Under the title of "A Report from Oxford," is to be found in the Cambrian Register for 1796, vol. ii., pp. 299-304, the Ode to the Virgin Mary, which appeared in the Archaologia Cambrensis for October last. The account of the Ode given in the Cambrian Register is as follows, viz .: - " The readers of the Cambrian Register may be amused by reading the following translation (from the Welsh) of an Oxford anecdote, the original of which is in the note below, copied from volume I. of the Welsh School Manuscripts, (now in the British Museum). The piece of English poetry coming after it, and of which it was the occasion, is curious, and in some respects valuable, as it is very likely the best record existing of the pronunciation of the English at the period when it was composed, on account of its being chiefly written in Welsh orthography." The author of the Ode, according to the Cambrian Register, was IEUAN AB HYWEL SWRDWAL, 1450. The spelling of the two copies differ greatly, as verse the 6th,—

Help ws prace ffor ws prefferring,—owr souls

Assel ws at ending; &c.—Arch. Camb.

Help ws pray ffor ws preffering our sowls

Assoil was at ending

Make all that wee fawl tu ffing &c.—Cambr. Reg.

Verse 8th,-

We aish with bwk, &c.—Arch. Camb. We assh with bwk, &c.—Cambr. Reg.

The letter I in my opinion stands for ye, rather than for He, as in verse 1st,—

I set a braynts we to bring. Ye set a branch us to bring.

Verse 3rd,-

Yn hefn blyss I had this thing. In heaven bliss ye had this thing.

I am, &c.,

A. M.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Gentlemen,—In reply to the query of your correspondent "Silurius," respecting the Llanvair Waterdine sculpture, I beg to state that the subject has not been lost sight of, and no little pains have been taken therewith. It has engaged the attention of able antiquaries, both at home and on the continent; but as yet no satisfactory result has been attained. There is but little

² This seems to be the root whence the word finger is derived.—Editor of the Cambr. Reg.

doubt of the sculptured characters being ancient alphabetic notation, and it is probable that no person can now be found in this country competent to reduce the same into modern notation. However, we should not despair. Witness the mystery which so long hung around the inscriptions on the celebrated Egyptian stone which our National Museum contains.

1 am, &c.,

VIATOR.

October 20, 1850.

Miscellaneons Batices.

KIDWELLY CASTLE.—We are glad to learn that the outer walls of this fine castle, the property of the Earl of Cawdor, have lately had considerable repairs effected in them by his Lordship's order; and that similar repairs are going to be set on foot in the interior. A portion of wall against the chapel has lately fallen down. Several of the towers, too, require their cracks, &c., to be filled up. About £200 judiciously spent now would preserve this building for as many years. We understand that complete plans, sections and elevations of this castle will be exhibited before the Association at the Tenby Meeting, and probably a Paper read upon it.

Penally Church, several fragments of Early crosses have been found, as well as some mural paintings, apparently of the early portion of the 14th century, near the chancel arch. We are indebted to a correspondent for carefully reduced sketches and descriptions of the above, but we reserve them until the Association meet at Tenby, when some of the members will visit Penally

Church, and see what alterations have been effected.

IRISH ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—We have just received the "Macariæ Excidium," which, under the editorial care of J. C. O'Callaghan, now forms a splendid volume, enriched by a large body of valuable historical notes and illustrations, the more interesting as they relate to a portion of history so little known in many of its details. We are glad to learn the liberal offer of two members to print at their own cost "Primate Cotton's Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, in 1397," and "An Inventory of the Landed Property, Goods and Chattels, of Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, in 1518." For the former the Society will be indebted to the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., of Ballymena, and for the latter to their Vice-President, the Marquis of Kildare. We hope to notice the "Macariæ Excidium" at length in our next.

EARLY WELSH INSCRIBED STONES AND CROSSES.—We have recently had an opportunity of examining Mr. Westwood's collection of rubbings and drawings of the Early inscribed stones It is incredibly rich; and we recommend and crosses in Wales. it to the special attention of Dr. Petrie, Dr. Todd, Mr. Love Parry, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Archdeacon Williams, and other gentlemen who are skilled in palæography, and who really do take an interest in the antiquities of Wales. There are upwards of thirty early inscriptions and crosses in the immediate neighbourhood of Brecon alone—a fact probably unknown in that county. One early inscribed stone near Llangenau, we were informed on the spot the other day, has disappeared quite lately! People in that part of the country do not care for this sort of thing. Westwood, we have reason to think, destines this valuable collection, in future times, for some public museum.

CAERWENT.—We are informed that a large discovery of Roman coins, to the number of about four hundred, has been made at Caerwent (Venta Silurum), near the churchyard, and between the roads leading to Newport and Usk. They are of debased metal, and all, so far as our informant had seen, of the

reigns of Gordian III., and Philip the Arabian.

Parry's Royal Visits.—Our readers will be glad to hear that this interesting and valuable work has at length made its public appearance, though not in time to enable us to review it in our present Number. We hope however to do it justice in our next. Meanwhile we beg to congratulate our country upon its acquisition of this new historical treasure, and trust that the talented and indefatigable author will meet with the due and speedy reward of his labours at the hands of a grateful people.

DISCOVERY OF A SEPULCHRAL URN OF THE ROMAN-BRITISH PERIOD.—A workman in the employ of A. W. Williams, Esq., M.D., of Caernarvon, recently discovered, in a field about 150 yards south-east of Llanbeblig churchyard, a sepulchral urn, or rather two urns, which evidently had been placed within each other when interred. The urns are a mixture of sand and clay of a bluish grey colour, without any lead glazing. They contained a considerable quantity of calcined bones; a few pieces of charcoal, besides two or three bits of iron; one piece very much resembles the head of an arrow, such as have been frequently discovered in the interior of Caernarvon Castle; also a small piece of pottery, which appears to be a fragment of Samian ware. The urns were unfortunately broken by the workman; but Mr. Williams took every pains to secure the pieces, and, with a very little trouble, they may be restored to their pristine symmetry.

Reniems.

REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL; WITH AN ESSAY TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FABRIC. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Author of the "History of Architecture." Price 8s. London: Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason. 1850.

The series of reprints from the Archæologia Cambrensis, which have appeared from time to time, has been the means of circulating the matter contained in our pages more widely than could have been done by the unassisted efforts of the Journal itself. It is obvious, however, that we have been precluded from noticing them by the danger of falling into that "self-praise" which is proverbially "no recommendation;" and we therefore willingly take the opportunity of noticing the first work in any way connected with our Journal, which is fairly open to our criticism.

Mr. Freeman's "History of Llandaff," though having a common origin with the reprints just alluded to, differs from them by containing a very large proportion of original matter, and by being thrown into a completely new form. In fact, although several important portions, especially of the historical chapter, have been reprinted verbatim, it

is to all intents and purposes a new book.

"The present volume," says the author, "has grown up in a manner which I may venture to call analagous to the history of the building of which it treats. Happening to be present at the Cardiff Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1849, when Llandaff Cathedral naturally formed one of the most prominent objects of attention, I was induced to make some remarks at one of the evening meetings on some of the more singular peculiarities of the fabric. This was after only a very cursory examination of the building, and was as much to point out a few of the many difficulties connected with, as to offer any solution of them. My casual speech next developed into a paper for the Journal of the Association, the Archæologia Cambrensis. This stage required a more minute and dligent investigation of the church, which I had the pleasure of performing in the presence and with the aid of Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration. The result of our inquiries was to bring to light much that explained previously existing difficulties, much also that did little more than start new ones, to some of which I fear I have not yet found the key. The subject growing upon me, as the speech developed into a paper, so the paper developed into a book; and a casual visitor to Llandaff has gradually found himself in a position only too like that of the historian of its Cathedral."—Preface, pp. xi., xii.

"When a separate publication of the paper was thought of, in common with several others which had appeared in the same Journal, it struck me that an opportunity had occurred for supplying a desideratum in architectural literature. Instead of a mere reprint of a magazine-paper, I thought, if anything on Llandaff Cathedral were published at all, it should be something that might make some pretensions to the character of a descriptive and historical account of the building, a work which, as far as I am aware, has not previously been attempted in our times. A second sojourn at Llandaff, undertaken for the purpose, has enabled me to produce, in the present volume, an attempt to supply the deficiency."—Ibid., pp. xii., xiii.

We believe Mr. Freeman is quite correct in the supposition that no history of Llandaff had been attempted in our times. Browne Willis, in the Dark Ages, took upon himself to write the Welsh Cathedrals all round; but one of them, at least, he never saw; and the great progress of archæological science since that period, renders a new history of them all absolutely necessary. Probably there are no ecclesiastical edifices in Britain nearly so little known in proportion to their historical and architectural importance. What Englishman knows of Llandaff or St. Asaph, but as places giving titles to spiritual peers? What Irishman who whirls along the North Wales Railway, has ever heard of Bangor, until he hears it pronounced by the guards and porters at the station? What North-Welshman ever hears of St. David's, without mechanically asking, "Is there anything to see there?"

It is high time that this ignorance should be dispelled; and we have to thank Mr. Freeman for coming among us to do it. He has executed his task admirably. The book is divided into two chapters, of which the first is descriptive, and the second historical. The former enters minutely into the present condition of the fabric, and criticizes its several æsthetical excellences and defects. The following description of its present appearance will be acceptable to those who have never seen the fabric, and will serve as a fair specimen of the author's descriptive power:—

"The first aspect of the cathedral is not a little perplexing, and it requires considerable familiarity with the building both within and without, fully to grasp the principle of its arrangement, and to recognize its component parts. Looking down on the church from the rising ground to the south, the best point for obtaining a view of its whole extent, the aspect is confusing indeed; the appearance of the building resembles a perfect chaos. A deserted ruin at the extreme west; the eastern portions fresh from recent restoration; the centre reduced to the likeness of a conventicle or a third-rate town-hall—perhaps no more incongruous assemblance of discordant elements was ever brought together.

"But it is not merely to these accidental circumstances that the difficulties alluded to are owing. A thorough restoration would diminish, but it would by no means entirely remove them; they are inherent in the design of the fabric. Its ground-plan, outline, and arrangement are altogether unique. It consists—speaking of the appearance which it presented when complete, and which we may fairly hope it will, before many years, present again—of a long unbroken body, comprising under an uninterrapted roof, nave, choir and presbytery, with a large Lady chapel projecting from the east end at a somewhat lower elevation. Aisles extend along the whole length of the main body and along one bay of the Lady chapel; the west end is flanked by low towers terminating the aisles; a square building, forming the chapter-house, projects from the south aisle of the presbytery, having somewhat the air of a low transept."—Pp. 4, 5.

The general criticisms on the building (as it ought to be, for criticisms on its present state are perhaps superfluous,) are altogether excellent, and the author's taste stands him in great stead in the process of making out the development of the fabric. Perhaps, indeed, it has in some instances supplied him with premises for historical deductions, of a kind which persons of less refined perceptions might be little disposed to admit. We allude, for example, to Mr. Freeman's à priori objection against a double tier of windows in an aisleless church, which, taken per se, appears a little too dogmatic, especially as we meet with such arrangements, not only in the front of transepts, as he allows, but in aisless themselves, which is more to

the point. We are also disposed to criticize his description of a conjectural tower-porch, both as being somewhat obscure, and as being

based on rather vague and uncertain evidence.

The book, however, is excellently written, displaying great critical and historical acumen, extensive architectural knowledge, and consummate taste, tempered with a sound and healthy tone, which makes it readable, even when it is occupied with the "dry bones" of archæology. We would particularly call the attention of antiquaries to the remarks on "Restoration" contained in ch. ii., § iv.; where the author discriminates accurately between a legitimate restoration and the contrary; the matter of these remarks is implicitly contained in the following words quoted from Mr. Petit's "History of Tewkesbury:"—

"An old church is not merely to be looked upon as a record of past ages, but as a valuable bequest for the use of the present."—P. 90.

The book is well illustrated by engravings, taken from drawings which were furnished gratuitously by the kindness of Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration. The wood-engravings are from the talented hand of Mr. Jewitt, and are beautiful specimens of the class: there are also some steel engravings. The illustrations are entirely new, except the ground plan, which has already appeared in our pages. The west doorway, which we insert by the kind permission of the author, is a fair instance of the engraver's skill.

It is perhaps to be regretted that a complete history of the See, as well as the Cathedral, of Llandaff, was not produced at once. We have, however, been in some degree indemnified for the want of this, by the earlier appearance of Mr. Freeman's account of the fabric, and still more so by the appeal which he makes to the "accomplished antiquary who now fills the office of Chancellor of the Church of Llandaff," an appeal which, we trust, will not be long unanswered.

Notices of Sepulchral Monuments in English Churches, from the Norman Period to the present time. With Illustrations. Price 3s. 6d. By W. Hastings Kelke, Rector of Drayton Beauchamp.

We have been much pleased with this little brochure on Sepulchral Monuments, the first fruits (as far as our own knowledge extends) of the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Bucks.

Although not able to claim much novelty, it is perhaps more valuable from the truth of its observations, its clearness, and the admirable manner in which it is adapted to attract the attention, and invite the research of the tyro in antiquarian pursuits.

In proof of our assertion, we will give the author's opening re-

marks:—

"The sculptor and the antiquary, the architect and the historian, know and appreciate their importance; but their value is not confined to such characters. They are replete with interest for all persons of taste and reflection. Their effigies impart a more correct and vivid idea than the most elaborate description can convey, of the various costumes and general appearance of ecclesiastics and military charac-

ters, of civilians and ladies, and of children in successive generations. Thus they constitute a connecting medium between the present and the past. They present to you feudal lords and ladies of bygone days; they make you the companions of great and renowned characters; they introduce you into various grades of society; and make you contemporary with every past generation.

"Their inscriptions often afford information that cannot elsewhere be found, and even when there is not a word upon them they may be the means, by the character of the sculpture, the costume of the effigy, by the armorial bearings or other devices about them, of establishing important facts. National events have been confirmed or illustrated; parochial interests have been adjusted; charitable bequests have been secured from spoliation, or rescued from total ruin; dormant titles have been resumed; and lost property has been recovered."

Our author now proceeds to inquire into the origin of monuments in churches, and subsequently points out the changes which took place at different periods. The fashions, as it were, are rendered clear by means of wood-cuts, which, although borrowed from other works, and inferior in point of execution, are sufficient to answer the purpose, besides forming an appropriate heading to the descriptive portions, which are classed in the following order, viz.,-stone coffins, c. 1070-1400; effigies, c. 1100; altar tombs, c. 1200-1600; canopies, 1250-1700; incised stone slabs and brasses, c. 1200-1770; cross-legged effigies, c. 1100-1350; diminutive effigies; monuments of children, c. 1300; emblematic monuments and devices; cenotaphs, c. 1100; memorial windows, c. 1400-1550; mural monuments, c. 1550; mural tablets, 1450; classic monuments.

Under each division references are made to various monuments worthy of notice; but, should a second edition be called for, we would wish the author to extend this list, so as to include the most remarkable

of every æra, and thereby direct the tourist in his research.

Upon those monuments styled "classic" our author is justly severe, as well as on the wanton destruction which was caused during the civil wars of many really valuable memorials, although he admits that Cromwell and his fanatic soldiers no doubt are blamed for much which took place at a subsequent period, whilst we ourselves are liable to the imputation of sad neglect, in allowing many curious specimens to be removed, disfigured, mutilated, and in some instances, altogether destroyed.

These portions of his subject have however been so fully noticed by Mr. Markland, in his interesting and beautiful little volume on English Churches, that we willingly refer the reader to that work, which we

cannot too highly recommend.

On the point of intramural sepulture we cannot quite agree with our author, nor do we understand how, under proper regulations, the dead can be said to offend the living; taking it for granted that a vault is

properly constructed, and the body encased in lead.

To the rules which ought for the future to regulate the admission of monuments into all churches, we most cordially assent; and here we will close our comments on a book which, however unassuming in appearance, deserves attentive perusal and liberal encouragement.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH, RECULVER, AND LYMNE, IN KENT. By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. Illustrated by F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. London: J. R. Smith, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho.

We regret we did not receive this volume at an earlier period, since it has claims upon our attention, to do justice to which would require more time and space than we can at present command, even if we could boast the requisite talent, combining, as it should do, an intimate acquaintance with classic literature, the science of the practical numismatist, and the research of the pains-taking antiquary. We can however strongly recommend it to the perusal of all who take an interest in the subjects of which it treats, and we will endeavour to afford a more detailed account of its varied contents in our next Number—premising that the manner in which it is printed, and the numerous illustrations drawn and engraved by Mr. Fairholt, are everything which the most fastidious could desire.

A PLEA FOR THE FAITHFUL RESTORATION OF OUR ANCIENT CHURCHES. By G. G. Scott, Architect. Post 8vo. 1850. Pp. 155.

This is a spirited appeal to the good feeling and good sense of the country upon the Restoration of our Ancient Ecclesiastical Edifices. We find in it much that we approve of, much that we can corroborate;—in the spirit of it we altogether join. We recommend it to the perusal of all persons who find themselves compelled to join in the restoration and reparation of their parochial buildings. What the author says however concerning old churches, we would extend to all old buildings of any architectural character, or historical interest. "Preserve as much as possible, destroy as little as possible." This is one of the most essential architectural canons of the present day.

HYMNS TRANSLATED FROM THE WELSH. By Mrs. PENDEREL LLEWELYN. London: Pickering. 1850. pp. 31.

We hail the appearance of this most beautiful and faithful translation of Welsh Hymns. The spirit, and in most instances the metre, of the original, are most faithfully and successfully preserved. The Welsh Hymns loose nothing of their fervour or originality by the translation now presented to the public. The author calls the present translations "specimens," and most pleasing specimens they certainly are; no one can read them without being highly delighted, if not enraptured, with them. As for ourselves we cannot but admire these specimens, and hope to see many more such like; and we cannot but encourage Mrs. Llewelyn to go on, and make the Welsh Hymns in popular in England as they are in Wales. We could say more in their favour, but we forbear doing so, in order to present our readers with one or two of these "specimens" taken at random; from which they may judge whether or not we have done our duty, as public

men, in bringing them to their notice. And in doing so, we would at the same time advise Mrs. Llewelyn not to place too implicit a confidence in the Rev. D. Rees of Aberystwyth's version of the original Hymns, which he has almost throughout his collections most unwarrantably altered; as for instance,—

Nis gall angylion pur y nef, A'u dawn rhagorol hwy; Fynegi byth anfeidrol werth, Ei ddwyfol farwol glwy'.

The original of which stands thus,-

Nis gall angylion pur y nef, A'u doniau aml hwy; Byth osod allan werthfawr bris, Anfeidrol ddwyfol glwy'.

Having said thus much of Mr. Rees's Collection of Hymns, whose mutilations of the originals are unpardonable, and whose Hymns Mrs. Llewelyn purposed following in her future translations, but which, after this warning, it is to be hoped she will desist from doing, and go at once to the fountain-head. We cite the following as fair specimens of Mrs. Llewelyn's skill as translator:—

Cariad Crist a phechod Sion,
Bwyswyd yn y glorian fawr;
Ac er trymed oedd y pechod,
Cariad bwysodd hyd y llawr;
'Gair Gorphenwyd,
Wnaeth i'r glorian bwysig droi.

(Translation.)

Jesu's love and Zion's sinning
Were in Heaven's balance tried,
And tho' grevious was the sinning,
Love outweighed when Jesus died.
"It is finished,"
Turned the scale on mercy's side.

nercy's side. —P. 12.

Efe ei hun a'm gwrendy fry, Efe a'm cwyd i'r lan; Efe ei hun yw unig Dwr, A nawdd fy enaid gwan.

(Translation.)

Though raised on high—He hears me call,
He'll lift me from the dust;
My tower, my strength, my God, my all!
To him my soul I trust.

—P. 8.

Rho oleuni, rho ddoethineb, Rho dangnefedd fo'n parhau ; Rho lawenydd yn ddi ddiwedd, Rho faddeuant am bob bai : Triged d' Ysbryd Yn ei deml dan fy mron.

Disgyn, Iesu, o'th gynteddoedd,
Lle mae moroedd mawr o hedd;
Gwel bechadur sydd yn griddfan
Ar ymyloedd oer y bedd;
Rho i mi brofi,
Pethau nad adnabu 'r byd.

(Translation.)

Oh! bow down, thou mighty Saviour,
From thy realms of peace and bliss;
Me, a sinner, eye with favour,
Trembling on the grave's abyss!
Heavenly comfort—

Let me, Jesu, taste of this!
Grant me light; thy wisdom give me;
Heal with peace sin's poignant smart.
Every failing fault forgive me,
And thy lasting joy impart.
Let thy Spirit
Make its temple in my heart.

-P. 16.